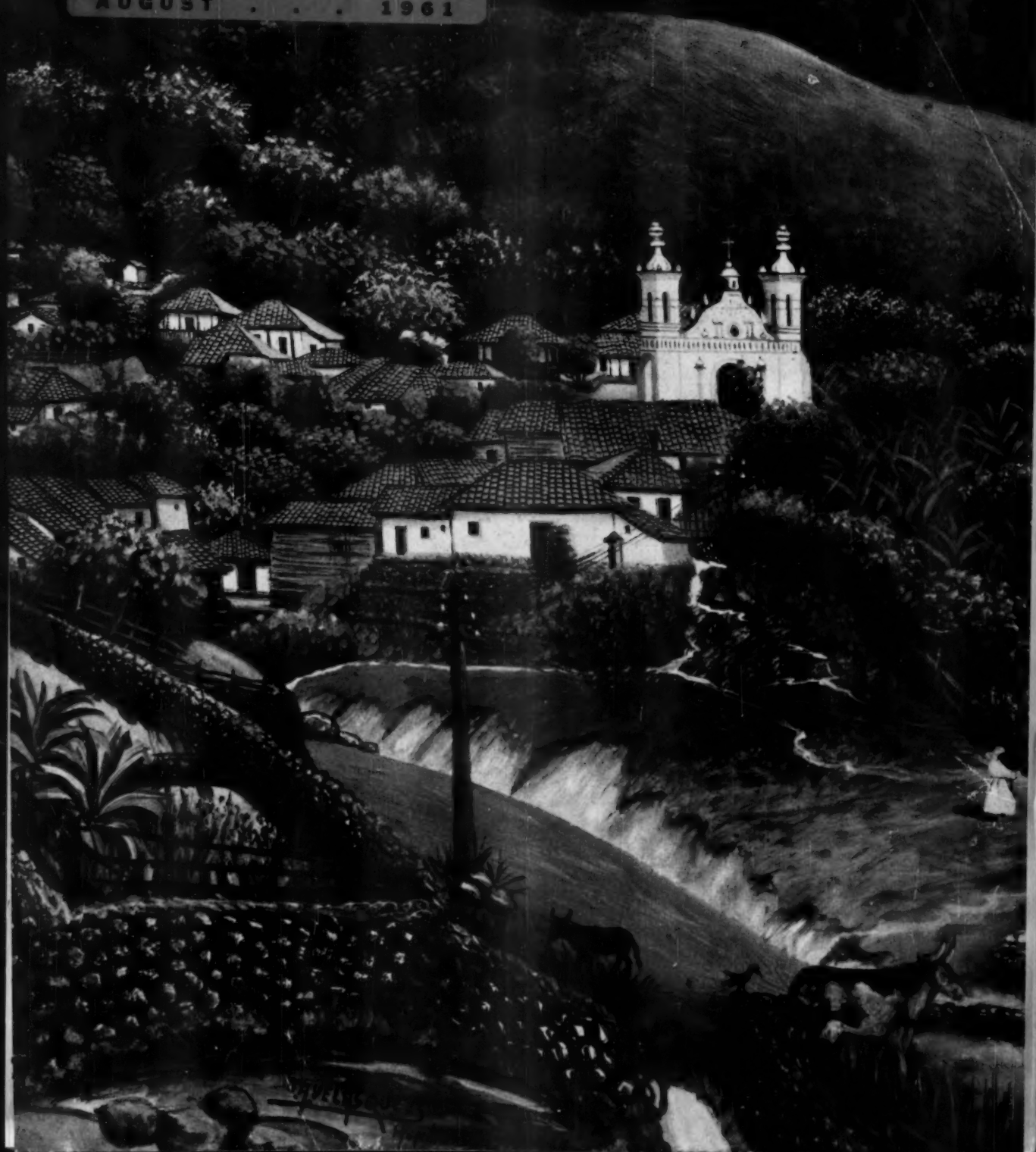


Américas

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Detail of *General View of San Antonio de Oriente*, by J. Antonio Velásquez. See page 13 for complete picture.

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Here and There

■ Some twenty-three countries are expected to build their own pavilions, and others to exhibit at smaller stands, at the II Pacific International Trade Fair, to be held in Lima, Peru, in October. Pledging its cooperation, the Argentine Government cited the value of such fairs to promote trade, particularly in the Latin American Free Trade Association zone. In addition to the American countries, a number of European ones will be represented, including West Germany, which plans a large exhibit.

■ Ten leading young archeologists and anthropologists from as many Latin American countries attended a special seminar organized by the PAU Social Science Section with the financial assistance of the U.S. National Science Foundation, at Barranquilla, Colombia, in June, on the latest methods for establishing chronological sequences of prehistoric cultures. Instructors were Dr. Clifford Evans and Dr. Betty Meggers of the Division of Archeology, U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, and Dr. James A. Ford of the Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York City.

■ Watch for a special number of AMÉRICAS dealing with the economic conference at Montevideo and the economic and social problems facing the American nations. A preview of the conference, by the OAS Assistant Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs Dr. Jorge Sol Castellanos, appears on page 31 of this issue.

■ Leaders of higher education in the American republics met at the Pan American Union in Washington during May and June to make an intensive study of the needs of Latin American universities, under the chairmanship of Dr. Carlos Cueto Fernandini, Chief of the PAU Division of Education. A report was presented to President Kennedy by Secretary General José A. Mora, defining the critical nature of the problem and proposing that there be established:

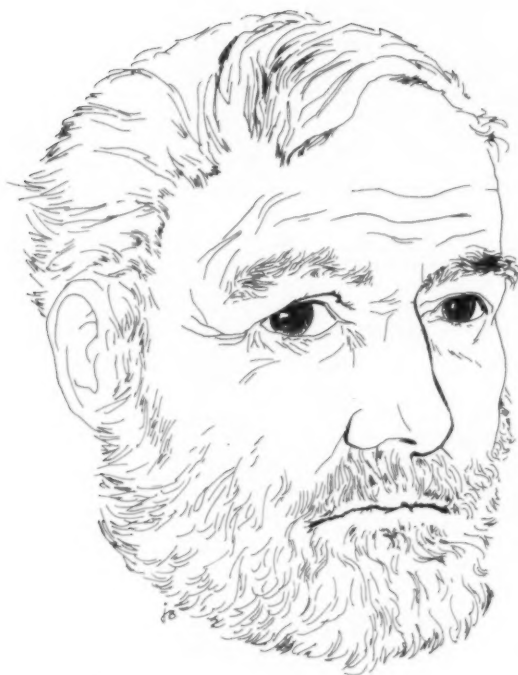
1) A Special Inter-American University Fund, to continue for a period of not less than ten years;

2) Inter-American agencies, within the context of the Pan American System, to administer the Fund; and

3) New national associations of universities (or their strengthening where they already exist) to aid in planning the development of education in each country.

The study was made at the request of President Kennedy. AMÉRICAS will soon present a series of articles on the history of higher education in Latin America and on some of the universities of the Hemisphere.

Opposite: Yemanyá, painting of West African goddess of the waters (also spelled Jemajá), by João Real of Bahia, Brazil



HEMINGWAY: bridge between two worlds

JOSÉ VÁZQUEZ AMARAL

"HE IS NOT DEAD. Generations not yet born, of young men and women who want to write, will refute that word applied to him." This is the finest obituary of the many that have come recently from all the great U.S. critics and writers on the occasion of the death of Ernest Hemingway. "Papa," as his intimates called him affectionately, died as he had lived—dramatically and violently.

Among those same U.S. critics are some who say that the man and his work were typical of a certain lack of maturity that continues to stamp U.S. writers. The great Uruguayan essayist, José Enrique Rodó, would be very much in agreement with this opinion. We recall that in his *Ariel* he tells us that a history of the United States could well be begun by some future historian with these words from *Faust*: "In the beginning, there was action." The same could be said of Hemingway's life, of both its beginning and its end. He was a moving force in the country of dynamists, as Rodó called the United States. At ten Ernest was already a restless boy who hunted ani-

mals with the shotgun his father had given him. Not yet quite sixty-two, Hemingway has died with a shotgun in his hands after having hunted any animals.

Ernest Hemingway belongs to that vociferous handful of young U.S. writers who, like stampeding buffaloes, as Ford Madox Ford has said, suddenly attacked U.S. and world letters after World War I. Included in that group were Ezra Pound, John Dos Passos, Madox Ford, Gertrude Stein, Archibald MacLeish, Henry Miller, Thornton Wilder, and many other U.S. citizens living in Paris. The headquarters for all of them was Sylvia Beach's famous Shakespeare and Company bookstore at Number 8, Rue Dupuytren. This was the well-known "Lost Generation," a name that could not be more fitting for the generation that has left the greatest and deepest mark on the Anglo-Saxon literature of the Americas. Characteristic of this generation was an enormous desire to do. But this doing had to be achieved within a new mold that would wipe out all those that had preceded it, the latest of which was defended by the then dean of U.S. letters, William Dean Howells. However, it is true that, at the same time, it was he who, in his own way, did most to produce the change toward the new literature. The magazines of the period did not want to devote any space to the things that the group was writing. Hemingway's first

JOSÉ VÁZQUEZ AMARAL of Mexico has been professor of contemporary Mexican literature and Spanish American literature at Rutgers University for many years, and is also on the faculty of the National University of Mexico. In the United States, his articles have appeared in the *New York Times Book Review* and the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

efforts had to appear in new magazines—*Gargoyle*, *Transatlantic Review*, *This Quarter*—and even in such French periodicals as *Le Navire d'Argent*. The young writers also set up their own print shops so that they could publish the works of those who were shut out: themselves, other U.S. writers, and even some Irish. For example, it was Sylvia Beach herself who decided to publish the first edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* and distribute it in the United States. And it was Ernest Hemingway who generously offered to find for Joyce and Beach a friend who would undertake to smuggle the enormous volumes of *Ulysses* from Canada into the United States.

Hemingway seems to have arrived at everything prematurely. He was always forcing the future. Characteristically, he died at sixty-two when he still had much to write and many years in which to write it. Hemingway couldn't get into World War I with the U.S. forces because he was too young, but he lied about his age to enlist in the Canadian army. He ended the war with a serious leg wound received while distributing chocolate on the Italian front. The wound was so serious that it was thought he might not live. When he was released from the hospital, he returned to Chicago, but he could not stand living there long. He married Hadley, his first wife and childhood sweetheart, and the two sailed for France. Hemingway carried with him letters from Sherwood Anderson to all the principals of the Lost Generation. One of these letters was for Gertrude Stein, who had baptized the generation and who acted more or less as a catalyst for the whole group. In this way Hemingway joined the ranks of those who, as a generation, have made the most important mark on English literature on this side of the Atlantic since the distant days of the so-called Concord Group, which included such giants as Emerson and Thoreau.

Although the formal education of Hemingway stopped with elementary school, the novelist achieved an impressive education that perhaps he could not have got in university classrooms. He read everything, and read in several languages. It can be truly said that Ernest Hemingway owed everything to Ernest Hemingway. Sylvia Beach said of him in her book of reminiscences *Shakespeare and Company*: "Though the question who has influenced such and such a writer has never bothered me, and the adult writer doesn't stay awake at night to wonder who has influenced him, I do think Hemingway readers should know who taught him to write: it was Ernest Hemingway." In the preceding paragraph she wrote even more forcefully: "Of course, today Hemingway is the acknowledged daddy of modern fiction. You can't open a novel or a short story in France, or England or Germany or Italy or anywhere else, without noticing that Hemingway has passed that way. . . ." His formula, of course, was deceptively simple: "I found the greatest difficulty, aside from knowing what you really felt, rather than what you were supposed to feel, was to put down what really happened in action: what the actual things were which produced the emotions that you experienced, . . . the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion."

We should lean toward Beach's opinion and not believe those who insist that it was the austere Gertrude Stein who, with her sharp criticism, helped Hemingway write seriously and not be satisfied with mediocre results. We do believe that the older woman ridiculed the novelist's long-standing fondness for firearms to the point that she sometimes hurt his feelings deeply. There is no doubt, however, that Stein's experiments with free association must have had some influence on the technique that the novelist was developing. But we know that Hemingway was capable and competent in everything he did. He worked wholeheartedly to achieve an unadorned prose. Once he felt in complete possession of the instrument he was seeking, he hastened to say so: "Prose is architecture, not interior decoration, and the baroque is over."

Hemingway followed his own advice from the time he wrote his first stories, at the beginning of the twenties. However, there were still some three years—from 1923 to 1926—in which the young writer endured the hunger that was *de rigueur* for the voluntary U.S. exiles in Paris after World War I. He lived on a few cents' worth of fried potatoes, in a tiny room. But fame and money were not far off, and it seems that he always knew it and never despaired. In 1926 he published *The Sun Also Rises*, and it was an immediate success. Until then no novel had brought together, in a few pages, a gallery of portraits of the new U. S. nomad; portraits so realistic that one can never forget them. In this novel the author reveals for the first time his interest in things Hispanic. Hemingway was not alone in this, but he was the most persistent, and the one who came closest to the heart of the mystery. On this subject we must again quote Beach, from the previously mentioned work:

Everybody at that time had been in Spain, and varied were the impressions. Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas had found it very amusing. Others had gone to a bullfight, been shocked, and come away before the end. The bullfight had been written up from the moral and sexual point of view, and as a bright-colored sport, picturesque and all that. . . .

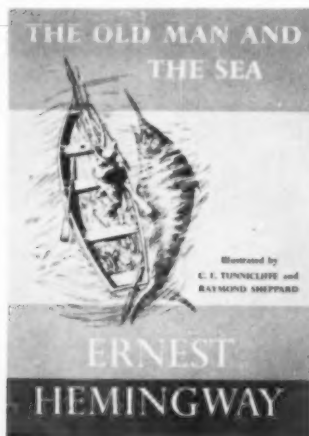
It is interesting to note that two of his protagonists drawn from the Hispanic world, one in *The Sun Also Rises* and the other in *The Old Man and the Sea*, open and close the cycle of his greatest achievement as a creative artist. Even more interesting is the character he assigns to these two Hispanic men. In *The Sun Also Rises* the story concerns a young bullfighter who steals an American's girl. The American, enraged with jealousy, gives



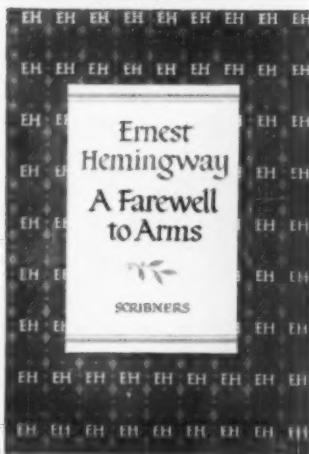
Hemingway with wife, Mary Welsh,
former magazine correspondent

him a sound beating. But the young bullfighter gets up after every blow, each time more reeling and battered, without ever losing heart or courage and without knowing a whit about how to defend himself with his fists. And it is this show of limitless valor, with no hope of winning, that leaves the young American of Jewish origin perplexed and deeply disturbed, because he had made himself boxing champion in his weight class when he was a student at Princeton, in order to overcome his inferiority complex. In *The Old Man and the Sea*, the novelette for which Hemingway received the Nobel Prize for Literature, Santiago, the old Cuban fisherman, is a man who struggles resolutely against the sea. He knows, as the young bullfighter knew, that he cannot win—but he comes in with the skeleton of the largest fish he ever caught, as proof of the inevitable defeat that he refused to accept, fighting it in every way possible.

In the midst of the growing disorientation of the contemporary world, of the ever more definitive destruction of the values that Victorian society considered imperishable, Hemingway thought that he had found in Hispanic man the irrevocable decision to fight without quarter against all life's setbacks. This explains another of his enthusiasms for things Spanish: his obsession for bullfights.



Novelette that won Nobel Prize



Published in 1929, this book was called brutal, terrific, awesome and beautiful

Bulls, with their intrinsic dramatic quality and their violence sustained under rigorously regulated control—so much so that death and bloodshed seem to spring spontaneously from the event itself, an event in which art and ritual make facts disappear as such and cloak them in aesthetic abstraction—had a hypnotic attraction for Hemingway. Violence is never aesthetically pleasing, and it is much less so when man practices it, because it is always accompanied by an intent that denies the supreme value: life, the value supreme in itself, the entelechy par excellence of the Greeks. This is why man has always accepted the violence of sacrifice as propitiation to the gods. The bullfight is the survival of a rite, apparently practiced by many Mediterranean peoples, which has outlasted the death of the gods that it once pleased. Perhaps even today man harbors respect, deep inside, for the same nameless and ineffable gods. To those who claim that Hemingway never really understood the bulls, we must say that he was at the point of making the daring leap that separates the taurofile Hispanic world from the Anglo-Saxon fans of football, baseball, and boxing. To Hemingway, and to the great propaganda that he gave to bullfighting, we owe the fact that the English-speaking world became interested in the sanguinary ritual ballet—so interested that it has produced men and even women bullfighters from the United States.

There are violent and extroverted peoples, and violent and introverted peoples. The Spanish people, and many of the Latin Americans, are violent and introverted, while the U. S. people are violent and extroverted. The Spanish people like bullfights and the U. S. people like their brand of football. The Spaniard will never be able to understand why a group of eleven men, in full control of their mental faculties, devotes itself to attacking another similar group with all the force of its physical might, under the pretext of moving an oval-shaped ball one hundred yards one way or the other to make a supposed goal. By the same token, the U. S. citizen, with the exception of Hemingway's proselytes (now legion), does not understand why a poor animal—the bull—is submitted to long torture, infuriated, terrorized, and, finally, killed, while thousands of people, allegedly rational, enjoy that spectacle that denigrates the human race. This is the gulf that Hemingway tried to breach. Proof of his great and sincere efforts are his works on the subject: *The Sun Also Rises*, *Death in the Afternoon*, and *The Old Man and the Sea*. The latter is essentially a novelette about bulls, although there are no bulls, but there is the sea, which is transformed into a fish, and then into a shark. In life, outside the bullring, the dying bull always charges one last time, gores, and kills. Good bullfighters, like Hemingway, outlive the blow and the death of the bull. Noble bulls, like Pajarito, don't die either; they are permitted to live and are put out to pasture until their other death, the physical one.

Hemingway lived fully and intensely. He was like the restless and violent characters in his novels. He arrived at everything before his time, as we said before. Archibald MacLeish said it this way:

Veteran out of the wars before he was twenty;
Famous at twenty-five; thirty a master—
Whittled a style for his time from a walnut stick
In a carpenter's loft in a street of that April city.

After that first world war and the success of his first novels, Hemingway returned to the United States and lived for ten years in New York, which he had always hated so much. *A Farewell to Arms* had established him as a new master of his genre in English. The translation of his work into almost all civilized tongues could only result in producing a great influence on this class of literature throughout the world. He has not been surpassed. In our opinion, only John Dos Passos comes close to him, in some passages in *Three Soldiers*, one of his first works also. Ford Madox Ford says quite correctly in his prologue to one of the later editions of *A Farewell to Arms* that upon beginning to read this novel one has the feeling that he is a prospector who, after scratching in the rocks and dust for years on end without finding anything, suddenly finds a nugget of gold, shining out from all the dust. And so it is. Anyone who has read this novel in his youth retains an undying impression. It is something akin to the second stage, or the ascent from the period of the emotion felt when we read *The Three Musketeers* to the cold, clear, taut emotion that the first paragraph of *A Farewell to Arms* produces:

In the late summer of that year we lived in a house in a village that looked across the river and the plain to the mountains. In the bed of the river there were pebbles and boulders, dry and white in the sun, and the water was clear and swiftly moving and blue in the channels. . . .

In modern English literature there are few paragraphs to equal this one, which we have quoted in part, in the consummate mastery with which the author established an emotional climate and a physical setting. It has been said that Hemingway was a poet. His prose like this confirms it. These lines, and the whole first chapter, which is very short, have the characteristic economy of good poetry and, almost, its emotion. There is almost—note that I said almost—the rhythm of Cervantes' "*En un lugar de la Mancha . . .*" in "*In the late summer of that year. . .*"

This novelist has been the best practitioner of the rules laid down by the master Ezra Pound in his *ABC of Writing*. In that guide for the writer he said: "Never say in poetic form what you can say better in prose." Although the novelist's prose often borders on the lyric, he never exceeded its own legitimate bounds. This moderation, even more than his technical skill, accounts for Ernest Hemingway's beneficial influence on the novel and the short story in Spanish America. He dispensed with the enumerative cataloguing of things that characterized Victorian description. He spoke of the essential things, and only when they helped to bring out the characters effectively, always in action, in physical or emotional movement. The emotion of the characters never goes beyond his control, it always rolls on its own track. If there is any real outburst, it always takes place in the form of a head-on collision, as of two trains. It is never a collision like those of the anemic and chattering characters of the



Spencer Tracy and Felipe Pazos starred in film version of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*

newspapers serials that always have the same function: to stretch each situation out as much as possible. Hemingway, on the other hand, became the best master of dialogue of the contemporary novel. The dialogue is dry, laconic. The characters speak with the direct effectiveness of a machine gun. Many have tried to imitate him; but so far nobody has been completely successful.

Only Eugene O'Neill has achieved a similar effect, in his one-act plays, especially in one of his *Seven Plays of the Sea* entitled *In the Zone*. Of course this technique is easier for the playwright than for the novelist because in the theater the action can be seen in motion by the spectator. In the novel there is no such recourse to manikins; everything must be expressed in pure dialogue.

José Eustasio Rivera published his only novel in 1924. Perhaps this novel *La Vorágine* (*The Vortex*) represents the last of its kind in Latin America. Our hypothesis is that if Rivera had lived a little longer and stayed where he was in New York, while Hemingway was living there, the Colombian's next novel would have been totally different. Hemingway had already worked out the style necessary for writing the most terrible things with the serenity and balance generally associated with the classic spirit. The baroque writing that characterizes the prose of Modernism, whose best examples are to be found in the stories in Rubén Darío's *Azul* (Blue), such as *La Muerte de la Emperatriz de la China* (The Death of the Empress of China), produced all the rhetoric and the mixture of lyric and prose elements typical of novels and short stories up until that time. A possible exception is the prose of Horacio Quiroga, who also sought the direct expression that Hemingway found and that he, Quiroga, achieves in such stories as the one entitled *El Hombre Muerto* (The Dead Man). Among novelists, we must also note the exception of Mariano Azuela's *Los de Abajo* (The Oppressed), a miracle among Latin American novels, which antedated Hemingway. This means that Latin American prose was already being oriented in the direction taken by poetry, which had long before expressed disagreement with the famous swan with the deceitful plumage, and wrung its neck.

It is fashionable to say that Joyce, Camus, Sartre, and others are the ones who influenced our novelists. This is still true. We must not forget, if we are not to be unjust and even unlettered, that the first American to have so influenced the whole world was Ernest Hemingway. ☞



COOPERATIVES: A FORCE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

FERNANDO CHAVES

SOME FIVE MILLION Latin Americans belong to cooperatives—more than twice as many as did twenty years ago. Fully half the cooperatives are in Argentina and Brazil, but they are succeeding in smaller countries too. Nearly all Honduran cotton is exported by an agricultural cooperative, and one out of every four families in Montevideo, Uruguay, shops for food and dry goods at consumer cooperatives. Cooperatives have a great potential, not fully realized, as instruments of social change and of economic development.

Initially, cooperatives in South America were organized by the people themselves without help from the governments. Immigrants from Europe who had had practical experience in cooperatives were the first organizers. They brought with them the ideas that had been put into practice by the pioneers of Rochdale, England, in 1844 in their consumers' society: free admission and withdrawal of members; democratic control (one vote per person); sales for cash; charging the customary market prices and crediting each member personally with his share of the surplus in precise proportion to his purchases at the society's store; liberal depreciation; limited interest on capital (5 per cent); and encouragement of education by grants made from profits.

In the first decade of this century, refugees from the Franco-Prussian War established an agricultural insurance cooperative in Argentina, and a few years later German immigrants in southern Brazil organized Raiffeisen Credit Cooperatives—with the provision of limited financial responsibility for the members—under the inspiration of the German priest Father Theodore Amstadt.

FERNANDO CHAVES, a Costa Rican, has been with the Pan American Union since 1945 and is a specialist on cooperatives in the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. He has traveled extensively in Europe and Latin America attending conferences, and he adapted this article from a paper he presented to the Third Scientific Congress on Cooperation at the University of Marburg in West Germany last year.

These were mainly for farmers. In the 1920's, the first laws in Latin America embodying the classical principles of cooperatives were passed, and governments began to support cooperatives and set up special departments to register and deal with them, so that they no longer had to operate under the laws for private business corporations.

By 1960 there were 14,780 cooperatives. More than six thousand were agricultural cooperatives, about four thousand were consumer associations, and more than one thousand were credit associations. (For a detailed summary of cooperatives and membership see the accompanying table.)

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

One main trend in agricultural cooperatives is typified by those found in Argentina and Brazil that were originally organized by European immigrants and are now well integrated into rather powerful federations. In Argentina, for example, the agricultural cooperatives started by meeting the farmers' most urgent needs. First, they marketed their products. Gradually they evolved into multi-purpose organizations, providing the farmers with fertilizers, insecticides, tools, and machinery. Finally, they gave credit to farmers, not through loans, but through the establishment of credit accounts under which the members were allowed to pay after the harvest for seed, fertilizer, and other supplies they needed at planting time.

A second trend is typified by the cooperatives organized and given financial help by the governments. Some have been established in an attempt to solve specific economic problems of a particular sector of farmers, as has been the case with the sugar cane and coffee cooperatives in Costa Rica or the Honduran cotton cooperative. Other governments have established cooperatives for supplying farmers' needs and marketing their products, as tools of agrarian reform: Mexico, Bolivia, Colombia,



Members of electricity cooperative in San José Naranja, Costa Rica, founded as pilot project by National Bank and PAU, set up poles for wires

mercado CO-OP



Students of international course in cooperativism visit consumers' cooperative supermarket in Puerto Rico

Chile, and Cuba.

Whatever the origin of agricultural cooperatives in Latin America, they have played, and are playing, a vital role in the economic development of the area. For example, the development of the dairy industry in Santa Fe

and Córdoba provinces in Argentina was due in large part to the dairy cooperatives, which today are the second most important group within the Argentine cooperative movement. They produce almost 100 per cent of the casein exported by Argentina. In São Paulo state, Brazil, four Japanese immigrants founded the Cooperativa Cotia thirty years ago. Today its seven thousand members, representing thirty-three nationalities, market more than two hundred agricultural products. The cooperative owns nearly 1,500 tractors, has agricultural experiment stations, and sponsors in-training service programs for the sons of its members.

Agricultural cooperatives can be helpful in organizing local, regional, and national markets. They can be important sources for the introduction of new techniques. They can be effective in the improvement and standardization, as well as the marketing, of agricultural products. And they should not be viewed as societies that are helping only their members, but should be considered as tools of social change and institutions for community development. Unfortunately, this objective has not been attained by most of the agricultural and other kinds of cooperatives, partially because of a lack of well-trained leadership.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES

Consumer cooperatives, which deal in food and dry goods, can be classified into four main types according to their organization. Some are organized by the people themselves, some by mutual aid societies, some by trade unions, and some by the government.

Outstanding examples of those organized by the people are found in Argentina and Brazil. The Hogar Obrero consumer cooperative in Argentina maintains a large department store and has made possible the construction of several apartment buildings in Buenos Aires for its

COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN LATIN AMERICA, 1960

COUNTRIES	CONSUMERS ¹		AGRICULTURAL		SAVINGS AND CREDIT		HOUSING		OTHERS ¹		TOTAL	
	Number of Cooperatives	Number of Members	Number of Cooperatives	Number of Members	Number of Cooperatives	Number of Members	Number of Cooperatives	Number of Members	Number of Cooperatives	Number of Members	Number of Cooperatives	Number of Members
Argentina	314	374,809	1,748	482,944	182	195,319	75	20,590	729	1,049,729	3,048	2,123,441
Bolivia	2	339	22	1,390	—	—	—	—	11	1,538	35	3,267
Brazil	1,282	666,633	1,555	389,949	513	439,291	—	—	1,003	98,511	4,353	1,594,384
Chile	178	193,792	160	12,300	114	33,929	223	30,346	13	2,461	688	272,828
Colombia	409	233,817	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	409	233,817
Costa Rica	9	2,387	8	2,498	8	1,320	4	553	7	126 ²	36	6,884
Cuba	—	—	1,392	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,392	—
Dominican Rep.	15	973	2	61	62	6,905	—	—	—	—	79	7,939
Ecuador	128	8,546	216	7,887	—	—	14	1,009	79	1,756	437	19,198
El Salvador	11	3,660	13	988	129	25,017	—	—	138	23,655	291	53,320
Guatemala	2	—	12	934	5	—	—	—	2	—	21	934
Haiti	—	—	5	—	26	8,989	—	—	2	152	33	9,141
Honduras	10	433	15	718	21	1,771	2	151	18	486 ²	66	3,559
Mexico	1,420	246,137	1,040	67,131	—	—	3	1,261	830	119,723	3,293	434,252
Nicaragua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Panama	—	—	4	—	32	3,200	—	—	—	—	36	3,200
Paraguay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Peru	27	19,804	11	1,316	23	5,814	15	2,949	13	1,804	89	31,687
Puerto Rico	98	13,985	31	41,967	185	65,354	16	1,879	32	2,427	362	125,612
Uruguay	14	43,394	98	13,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	112	56,394
Venezuela	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	3,919	1,808,709	6,332	1,023,133	1,300	786,909	352	58,738	2,877	1,302,368	14,780	4,979,857

¹ Includes 447 electric power cooperatives, with 361,149 members, and 1,010 school children's cooperatives, with 122,002 members.

² Number of members not indicated in some categories.

members. The Railroad Employees Cooperatives in Santa Maria in the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul is probably the largest consumer cooperative in the country. It supports an industrial school, several medical clinics and pharmacies, more than one hundred primary schools, and several restaurants.

In Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay cooperatives formed under the sponsorship of mutual aid societies have been especially successful. People experienced in group action for economic purposes were well suited for participation in consumer cooperatives. But these cooperatives have been maintained as closed associations, and this may hinder dynamic progress and modernization. Most of these cooperatives are located in the national capitals and are primarily composed of middle-class people. This fact could, in part, explain the success they have had. In Uruguay, eight of the fourteen consumer cooperatives in the capital have memberships of between 1,200 and 3,681. In Chile, the Sociedad Cooperativa de Consumo de Empleados Particulares Ltda. had 379 members in 1943 and 21,039 in 1959.

One might expect that trade unions would be very much interested in promoting consumer cooperatives in Latin America. However, they have been preoccupied mainly with obtaining better wages and better working conditions, as well as lobbying for the passage of labor laws and the establishment of social security systems. In Mexico, trade unions have formed consumer cooperatives in a very unorthodox way: The boards of directors of the trade unions are the boards of directors of the consumer cooperatives that they have organized.

Most of the consumer cooperatives in the fourth category—those organized and supported by the government—are small and some have been tied to public housing schemes, as in Costa Rica. A novel proposal has been made there that a central consumer cooperative be established in a public housing project in the capital and set

up branches in other housing projects in nearby cities and towns. It has been suggested that this sort of large-scale operation would substantially reduce overhead costs.

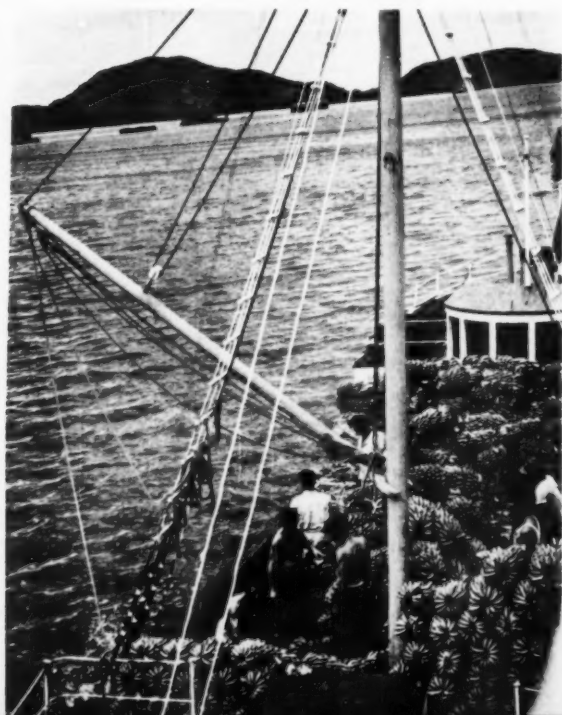
The spread of consumer cooperatives in Latin America has been slow. They have had to compete with more experienced private retailers who have already secured choice locations. Consumer cooperatives, as well as their federations, buy from private wholesalers. In most cases they have faced difficulties in importing directly, because of governmental restrictions on foreign exchange.

Consumer cooperatives have usually not been able to follow the Rochdale principle of selling only for cash. They must compete with private retailers who give credit to very low-income customers, who are hard hit by rapid inflation in most countries. The 1959 cost of living index (with the 1953 level taken as 100) was 469 in Argentina, 2,990 in Bolivia, and 1,040 in Chile. In some countries, such as Colombia, Chile, Venezuela, and Costa Rica, the orthodox principle of cash trade has been harmonized with the habit of buying on credit. According to the cooperative laws of those countries, credit sales made to members are considered cash sales if the members have expressly given written authorization for their employer to deduct from their salaries or wages the amounts they owe to their cooperatives. In Costa Rica, for example, a maximum period of thirty days can be given to pay the amount owed to the cooperative, and credit cannot be extended for any amount higher than 50 per cent of the member's monthly salary.

HOUSING COOPERATIVES

The development of housing cooperatives in Latin America has been very slow. The most important growth has taken place in Argentina, Colombia, and Chile. The membership of these cooperatives is largely made up of middle-class people who have been able to accumulate some savings to help finance them. Further development has been hampered by the lack of needed financial and technical assistance from governments. Housing cooperatives need long-term loans, at moderate rates of interest. At the present time sources for such loans do not exist in Latin America.

Chile has made the most significant progress of any country in the region in housing cooperatives (see *AMÉRICAS*, August 1958). The program there, initiated in 1954 by groups of energetic and intelligent lawyers, economists, engineers, and architects, now boasts a national federation and a wholesale organization that sells building materials to the housing cooperatives. Under a new Chilean savings plan designed to stimulate house construction, people's savings earn 3 per cent interest annually. Once a person or legal entity has accumulated fifty savings quotas in an amount previously agreed upon, the government will grant a loan for building a house, or, in the case of a cooperative, a group of houses. The bigger the savings quotas and the longer the period of saving, the larger are the loans and the longer the period of amortization allowed. Under this plan the amortization period may be between seven and twenty-one and a half years.



Cotia Agricultural Cooperative is one of Brazil's largest exporters of bananas

CREDIT COOPERATIVES

It might seem improbable that credit cooperatives could be organized in Latin America, where the habit of saving is so little developed, and particularly in countries plagued by rampant inflation. People have little access to the banking system because by and large they do not have the collateral required for loans, but they urgently need a source of adequate credit to meet emergencies, or for productive purposes. So people, especially skilled and white-collar workers, have pooled their small financial resources in credit cooperatives and found a source of loans that are easier not only in terms of amortization, but also in terms of interest rates. In Peru, for instance, credit cooperatives charge only 1 per cent per month on the unpaid balance. This is much lower than the rate charged on the whole amount of the loan, along with other hidden charges, by usurious individual private lenders. In these circumstances, credit cooperatives can be effective tools to combat usury, to which rural and industrial workers, as well as white-collar employees, are easy prey. The Department of World Extension of the Credit Union National Association of the United States has assisted in the organization of cooperatives in Latin America through effective training programs and a field service. The Organization of American States worked with this group on training programs and in preparation of a manual on credit unions. The Roman Catholic clergy has also done much to foster credit cooperatives, especially in Chile, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Peru. Priests have vigorously, and successfully, carried on modern educational campaigns, making use of audio-visual techniques and discussion groups. Training and educational materials are urgently needed for the encouragement of the other types of cooperatives as well.

OTHER COOPERATIVES

Many other kinds of cooperatives are found in Latin America, such as those for industrial cement production, fishing, and newspaper publishing in Mexico; the school children's cooperatives to train the students both in cooperation and in business arithmetic, as in Mexico, El Salvador, Argentina, and Puerto Rico; and the electrical power cooperatives in Argentina and Chile. In Argentina, these power cooperatives were started by the people themselves in 1927. In 1960 there were 387, with 354,812 members. Located primarily in small cities and towns, they are federated today and form an important part of that country's cooperative movement. But their growth has been hampered by a lack of large-scale financial help from their government, which itself has been faced with a lack of funds to meet the increasing demands for economic and social development. In Chile, on the other hand, the electrical cooperatives have been organized by the government since 1943 and are a modified version of the kind financed by the Rural Electrification Administration, which have brought electricity to farmers throughout the United States. The Chilean Government gives these cooperatives generous technical assistance, but the scarcity of savings has forced



One of handsome houses built by housing cooperative in San José, Costa Rica



Independent shoemakers in small Honduran town of Minas de Oro got together to work and sell as co-op to meet competition and buy simple machinery. Their success inspired others in community to start consumers' and school cooperatives to solve other problems



Another side of Cotia Cooperative's activities: warehouses in Anhangabaú, São Paulo state



a policy of granting loans for 75 per cent of the distribution system, repayable in three years. This short amortization period explains the rather slow development of rural electricity cooperatives in Chile. In 1960 there were thirteen, with 2,461 members. In Mexico at the same time there were forty-five with 3,812 members.

GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS WITH COOPERATIVES

Latin American governments, with a sincere desire to raise the standard of living of the people, have consistently promoted and aided cooperatives. Unfortunately, legal aspects of cooperatives were overemphasized at the beginning and most of the laws on the subject were born before the cooperatives themselves. A noteworthy exception is the excellent cooperative law of Argentina, passed in 1926 after substantial experience in the field had been accumulated.

There has been a gradual trend toward adoption of a single law for cooperatives, because it was found that a variety of laws regulating different types of cooperatives resulted in the creation of several governmental departments and constituted a waste of human and financial resources. However, in the countries where there is a single agency, it is usually a bureaucratic one, poorly equipped, and preoccupied more with legal matters than with the technical problems of the cooperatives. Puerto Rico, where the Administration of Cooperative Development has the rank of a Ministry, is an exception, for its efforts have been strong, with the help of the Bank for Cooperatives and the Institute for Cooperatives at the University of Puerto Rico.

Rather than the extensive cooperative laws that include secondary regulatory principles, I would favor cooperative laws that contain only basic principles, so that they may be easily understood and studied by leaders and members of the cooperative societies. The detailed regulations should be entirely separate.

Some of the cooperative laws deviate from Rochdale principles or from sound administrative practices for economic matters. Laws in El Salvador and Nicaragua allow cooperatives to be organized as corporations, ignoring the fact that fundamentally they are societies of persons, and not of capital brought together for a profit motive. In Cuba and Venezuela, government intervention in the internal administration of cooperatives is permitted. In Cuba all managers are appointed by the Institute of Agrarian Reform, and in Venezuela government agencies may appoint some of the directors of cooperatives that have received financial support from the government.

Reflecting the general lack of capital in Latin America, governments have not given to the cooperatives loans in proportion to their growing needs. Indirect financial assistance theoretically accrues to them from exemptions and privileges such as reductions in business taxes, reduced freight rates on government-owned railroads, reduced import duties, and so on. But because most of these prerogatives were incorporated in the cooperative law without relation to fiscal and monetary policies of

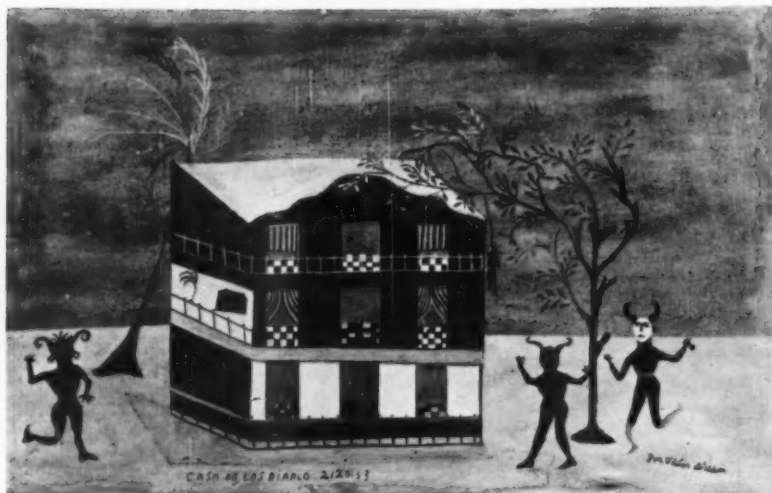
the governments, they have generally been ineffective.

Costa Rica's cooperative program is one that illustrates direct financial assistance on the part of the government. The National Bank's Department of Cooperatives has its own capital, and loans to cooperatives are approved by the Bank's directors. Loans are granted for periods ranging from two to fifteen-and-a-half years, depending on the type and objective. The Bank also supervises the activities of the Rural Credit Boards, which are democratically administered by the small farmers. Farmers may obtain loans from these boards, including loans to buy shares in an agricultural cooperative.

The countries of the Americas have worked together, through the Pan American Union, to train leaders of the cooperative movement, and their governments have shown a keen awareness of its value. At the meeting of the special committee on economic cooperation in Bogotá, Colombia, last year, they hailed the cooperative movement as "one of the most appropriate elements, because of its genuinely democratic roots and practices, for promoting economic development and social welfare." They passed a resolution calling for an enlarged PAU program in this field, especially to promote rural cooperatives to handle credit, marketing, consumption, housing, and multiple purposes—this last covering such things as the school children's cooperatives. In the U.S. Congress, Senator Hubert Humphrey has expressed the administration's enthusiasm for encouraging cooperatives in Latin America, as a way to make the gains of economic development reach down to the people themselves. Surely cooperatives can make a very useful contribution to an alliance for social and economic progress. ☛



*São Paulo school co-op members
raise silkworms for fun and profit*



The House of the Devils,
oil on canvas, by Victor
Millán, Venezuela

American Primitives Go to Europe

JOSÉ GÓMEZ-SICRE

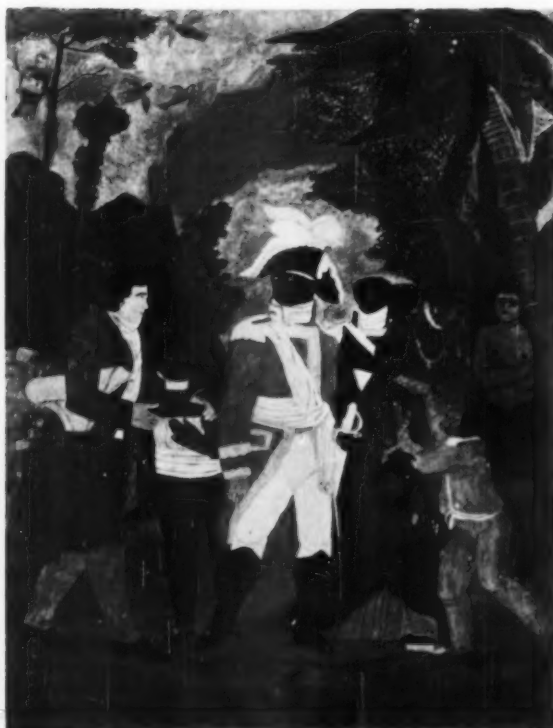
WHAT WE CALL PRIMITIVE ART is as old in America as its inhabitants. The works of early pre-Columbian cultures were often simple, unacademic graphic descriptions with the directness of all spontaneous popular art. The Europeans who came to America added their own instinctive urge to convert nature into a plastic image. Later, the Africans brought their enthusiasm for brilliant color.

Painting in America was thus a natural way of expression for the people, whether their ancestors were indigenous or had come from other continents. In earliest colonial times, paint was applied to useful objects for decoration, and to canvas, board, and tin with an artistic aim in mind. But painting also could be a magical element in ceremonies, a narration of a calamity, or a sign of the importance of strange deities or a prayer to them. Votive paintings, portraits, and descriptions of the magical and the cryptic have been produced on American shores for many centuries, and, curiously, they have survived the impact of time, the academies, and modern mechanistic civilization.

Twenty works by contemporary Latin American primitive artists are now touring Germany as part of a large exhibition, "The Naïve Art of the World," arranged by the art museum of Baden-Baden. The show opened there July 2 and is going on to Frankfurt am Main and Hanover.

As the centerpiece of the exhibition there are several works by the *douanier* Rousseau. Other French artists included are Vuvin, Bombois, Bauchant, and Caillaud. From Germany there are works by Dietrich, Trillaase,

José Gómez-Sicre is chief of the PAU Visual Arts Division.



Toussaint L'Ouverture Receives a Letter from the First Consul,
oil on cardboard, by Philomé Obin, Haiti



Collection of the PAU
Crucifixion, iron sculpture, by Georges Liautaud, Haiti

Bluhm, and Paps; from Yugoslavia, works by Generalic, Fejes, and Skurjeni. The primitive trend in the United States is represented by Grandma Moses, Morris Hirshfield, John Kane, Horace Pippin, William Doriani, and Edward Hicks. There are still other works by unschooled artists in Italy, Spain, and Peru (Mario Urteaga).

The examples from the Caribbean and Central American area, which were assembled by the Pan American Union for this world show, include the pictures shown on these pages, and on the front and inside front covers. In addition, from Haiti, there are three more metal sculptures by Georges Liautaud; a painting, *The Unfaithful Woman*, by the late Hector Hyppolite; Louverture Boisson's *Adam and Eve: The Sin*; and J. Chiappini's *Portrait of Toussaint L'Ouverture*. *Houses and Garden in Barranquilla* is by Noé León of Colombia. Four Cuban paintings appear: a *Still Life* by E. Bustamante; Rafael Moreno's *Homes in Marianao*; *The Discovery of Cuba* by Christopher Columbus, by the late Felisindo Yglesias Acevedo; and *La Cuerda Farm* by J. Casas.

This group of contemporary Latin American paintings and sculpture thus includes ritual designs, portraits, historical narratives, and depictions of the landscapes, farms, and objects the artists see about them. They represent different cultures of varied regions, and combinations of cultures and lineages. The artists show equal variety in the ways they earn their living. J. Antonio Velásquez is a barber, Asilia Guillén, an embroiderer, Víctor Millán, a skin diver, and Georges Liautaud, a blacksmith. Hector Hyppolite was a *houngan* or voodoo priest. And they represent a full range in their attitudes toward life, which lead to the art they discover for themselves every day. ☞



Collection of Dr. Marcos Falcón Briceño, Venezuela
The Burning of Granada, Nicaragua, by the American Troops, oil on canvas, by Asilia Guillén, Nicaragua



Collection of Agustín Velásquez Chávez, Mexico
Boy with Prickly Pear, oil on canvas, by Fernando Castillo, Mexico



Collection of the PAU
General View of San Antonio de Oriente, oil on canvas, by J. Antonio Velásquez, Honduras

DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO once wrote: "We shall caution you that Sarmiento has been faithful to no one, because he has never been at the service of anyone." And this sums up briefly what kind of man Sarmiento really was: a man at no one's service, not even his own, despite the self-worship for which he has so often been criticized; *he was a man at the service of his country and at the service of America.*

Sarmiento belonged to a generation that, once the ominous tyranny of Rosas was done away with, set to work building a nation. Their approaches to this job, the doctrines they followed, and their intentions, hidden or manifest, were highly diverse; but, in general, the so-called "generation of exiles" (representatives of the best of the Argentine culture of that time, who contributed from exile to the overthrow of tyranny and formulated the plans that would be used to rebuild the country) agreed on the broad, over-all lines of action for the job to be done. To be sure, there were antecedents: for example, the admirable work of the government of Rivadavia, so prematurely thwarted. But these men were a world away from the Rivadavian ideology. The exiles knew it was impossible to modify the existing structures by decree. They knew, and they had learned it the hard way, that the process had to start at the bottom, that the barbarous rule of the political bosses and the popular success of tyranny had to be explained—and eliminated—in the light of all the elements that make up the historical process. To get down to the root of the evils and attack them from within. *To do* was their watchword, and the hunger for action that dominated them all was stronger in Sarmiento than anyone could possibly imagine.

The country had two terrible enemies: the unconquerable distances, the awful empty spaces stretching between the small settlements and ignorance, nourished by the colonial customs and by the *criollos'* indolence and typical passivity. When the exiles returned home after the Battle of Caseros (1852), the River Plate Provinces, with the fruits of the governments preceding the tyranny gone, looked like a land that had been conquered and not colonized. Governor Ramírez de Velasco had said of it: "A poor land with few Indians." These lands, which did not yield the gold, silver, and precious stones of the conquerors' fantastic dreams, languished, waiting for men to come who would know how to extract the only wealth they could give. Under these circumstances, and after the scourge of the civil wars and the dark period of Rosas' rule, the country was nothing but a mockery of civilization.

The men of action lost no time. Juan Bautista Alberdi, one of the most illustrious minds of that generation, had already set the standard that was to be followed in combating the enemy: "To govern is to populate." This opinion was shared by Sarmiento, who saw clearly the necessity for encouraging European immigration in every

RODOLFO VINACUA, of Rosario, Argentina, contributes regularly to newspapers and magazines in his country. He is well known to readers of AMÉRICAS. He has published a book of short stories, *Gente Así*, and his work appears in the collection *Cuentos del Litoral*, published by the Argentine Ministry of Education.

SARMIENTO, MAN OF ACTION

RODOLFO VINACUA



way possible; and, like Alberdi, he dreamed of a constitution that would make aliens feel like native sons immediately on arrival. Sarmiento set the other standard: "*Educar al soberano*" ("To educate the sovereign people"). By populating the country and educating the people we would have to overcome what he himself, in a moment of sorrow, bitterly called "the rawhide civilization."

In a letter to a friend, a few months before his death on September 11, 1888, he defined the meaning of his life: "... A million owe it to me, in part, that their children have been saved from the most grievous afflictions of life, destitution and hunger. *There were thick bandages of ignorance and barbarity on the people and I tried to pull them off; I heard noise around me, the noise of still-unbroken chains, and I joined with those who were striving to shatter them.*"

This was his life plan. He passionately wanted to educate. When he was sixteen, with Father José de Oro, an uncle who had taken him into his care and taught him something of Latin, geography, and religion, he established his first school, where he taught reading to the rough young men of the area, all older than he, and from then on his life revolved around fighting for his country and for America and founding schools at every opportunity.

Exile kept him from Argentina for many long years, but in Chile, which was always a second home to him, Sarmiento went on doing the same things: fighting for his country and for America, founding schools, and writing the works that brought him Hemisphere-wide renown, many of which are closely concerned with the problems of education.

Sarmiento was not an ideologist. He had no system of previously organized ideas, only a plan of work. Often he changed his opinions in the course of a project. He was not interested in proving a theory; he wanted to do a job. "To do things; to do them badly, but to do them." This maxim, which has since frequently been misused, explained his attitude toward Argentina's backwardness. It was necessary to awaken from a long nightmare of infamy, to banish fear, and to have faith in the country's future. Sarmiento is the civil hero who has made Argentines feel most profoundly their faith in the destiny of their homeland. And this man, who put into his task a tremendous capacity for work and for struggle, who actively helped to incorporate into Argentina the latest elements civilization could offer at the time, and who, until the moment his eyes closed forever, devoted his whole life to his work on public education, had to overcome his own ignorance by means of tremendous sacrifices, armed for that Herculean labor with only the rudimentary knowledge gained in elementary school, the only school he ever attended.

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Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was born in the city of San Juan on February 15, 1811. His mother, who was later to fill some of the most beautiful and touching pages of his *Recuerdos de Provincia* (Memories of My Provincial Home), was the exemplary Paula Albarracín, and

his father José Clemente Sarmiento, a soldier in San Martín's army.

He lived as the other poor children of the city did, and at six began to attend the *Escuela de la Patria* (School of Our Country), which had been founded after the independence revolution in 1816, by local citizens, with municipal funds. Every year he won the "First Citizen" award, conferred on the top student; and because there was no other school, and this one had just three grades, he kept on in the same class until 1825, doing work of his own. Again and again he tried unsuccessfully to get a scholarship that would allow him to complete high school at the Academy of Moral Sciences, established by Rivadavia in Buenos Aires. Luck was so against this adolescent with the unquenchable thirst for knowledge that in 1827, just after the provincial governor became interested in him and suggested that he study at the Academy at government expense, federal forces under Facundo Quiroga overthrew the governor and dashed Sarmiento's hopes.

Then he had to think about earning a living and to postpone his plans for higher education. He went to work as a clerk in a business owned by an aunt. For two years he worked there, and in his free time read everything he could. What did he read? *Catecismos de Ciencias y Artes* (Catechisms of Sciences and Arts), published in Spanish in London by Rodolfo Ackermann, and some "lives" of illustrious men—Cicero, Franklin, and so on. In a speech in his old age he recalled how "... two years later I turned in the key to the store so that I could take up the sword against Quiroga, the Aldaos, and Rosas, [and] in my free time, which was when I was in exile, open schools and teach the masses to read."

The Sarmientos served in the forces that fought for a unified central government. His active participation in the struggles of the time made it necessary for the courageous man from San Juan to go into exile twice, in 1831 and again in 1840. During his first exile he took the lowliest jobs, teaching reading, when he was allowed to, and working as a bartender and in a silver mine. He was also reading everything worthwhile that he could lay his hands on and learning to read and translate English. In the mine he contracted a serious illness and suffered



Argentine dictator Juan Manuel Rosas
drove Sarmiento into exile

a cerebral attack that forced his return to Argentina. According to Leopoldo Lugones, that was when people started calling him "crazy." "Crazy Sarmiento!" How many times in his life he heard this when his projects, children of his enormous faith in the creative capacity of his country, made him seem crazy to those who were incapable of rising above the mediocrity around them!

In 1840, when he was involved in a conspiracy against the federal governor, he had to go into exile once more. It was then, as he crossed the Andes, that he inscribed on a rock the immortal words of Fortoul: "One cannot kill ideas!"

Back in Chile, this time for almost fifteen years, with only a brief interlude in Argentina, Sarmiento entered the most productive period of his intellectual activity. At the side of his friend and protector, the illustrious Manuel Montt, then Minister of Education and later President of Chile, he did highly significant work in the field of education. In 1842, Montt gave him the job of organizing and directing the Normal School. The next year he appointed him to the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the newly established University of Chile, and Sarmiento wrote his *Memoria Sobre la Ortografía Americana* (Report on American Orthography), which gave rise to quite a few polemics and was finally approved in part by the University. But the constant controversy was seriously undermining his spirit and creating a vacuum around him. Montt, understanding the seriousness of his friend's situation, and certain that he could do much for Chile, sent him on a study trip through Europe and the United States.

For a mind open to every new horizon, this was the great opportunity. Sarmiento thought so, and said so to his friends. He left with high hopes, and without suspecting, perhaps, that his book *Facundo*, which had already appeared as a serial in *El Progreso*, a Santiago daily, had preceded him and would be his key of admission to the Historical Society of Paris, as a foreign member. He traveled through Europe, visiting the finest schools, inquiring into everything, trying to learn all that was new in teaching, and, before returning to Chile, would "crawl"—his way of putting it, because the money was giving out—to the United States. He undoubtedly learned a lot in Europe, but it was in the United States that he gained a totally new insight into the problems of educa-

tion. There he met Horace Mann, and got to know the democratic school system the great U.S. educator was creating. Once more, the fighter who was willing to change his approach at any time began to think along new lines, and he knew that he had found the model he was seeking in the political and educational experience of the United States. This friendship with Mann and his wife left its mark on the life of the illustrious man from San Juan. After Horace Mann's death, his friendship with Mary Mann was to continue until death. In one of the countless letters he wrote this admirable woman, when (in 1868) he was a candidate for President of Argentina, he made it clear how passionately he wanted to solve the problems of education, how bitter he was about the destructive work of his enemies and of the social atmosphere, and how wrapped up he was in plans and hopes for a truly democratic school, open to the people: ". . . For twenty years I have been pushing ahead, and I have found everything I needed for the job; but behind me has come the Spanish colony, closing academies and schools, suspending educational dailies, and wiping out my trail in Chile, Buenos Aires, and San Juan! Now I have taken on all America. If there is any merit in my work, it is that, since I first started it at sixteen, when I founded the first school in San Luis de la Sierra, I have never given up the idea nor has my determination wavered, even with all the vicissitudes of my busy life, as a soldier, writer, newspaperman, politician, senator, cabinet minister, and now minister plenipotentiary. I made everything serve my goal—education—which makes no converts in our countries, and so the other politicians cannot be bothered with it, because it does not get them anything. They will decree construction of roads, monuments, palaces, statues, public walks, in order to win votes, but not of schools, even when universities and academies (for the rich) appear in their programs."

Once more in Chile in 1848, he published an account of his trip in a very long report. This was followed, successively, by four of his most important books (ranking along with *Facundo*): in 1849, *Viajes por Europa, Africa y América* (Travels Through Europe, Africa, and America) and *De la Educación Popular* (On Popular Education), the most carefully thought-out of his works, in which he discussed his educational experiences on his recent trip; and in 1850, *Argirópolis*, a plan for a federal government for Argentina, and *Recuerdos de Provincia*, perhaps the most beautiful of his books.

It is impossible, in a single article, to detail Sarmiento's Herculean labors in all the fields of social activity that he entered during his life. In a word: the readying of Urquiza's armies to overthrow the tyrant brought him home again, despite the pleas and protests of his friend Montt. He fought with the Great Army, was present at the Battle of Caseros, doing his job as "chronicler" and getting into the fighting every time he could. Later, a serious disagreement with Urquiza forced him to return to Chile. From there he persevered at the job of organizing Argentina. He kept up a lively correspondence, suggesting solutions, lending assistance and encourage-



U. S. educator Horace Mann was Sarmiento's close friend.
Drawing by Cupertino del Campo

ment, transmitting his fervent faith in the future. Finally, in 1855, he returned to Argentina.

From that moment on, except for the time spent on his diplomatic mission to the United States, Sarmiento participated actively in national politics. His capacity for action and the range of interests covered by his public activity were endless: from educating the people to setting up regional industries, from developing mining to extending railroads and telegraph lines, nothing seemed to escape the touch of this giant, who did not want to lose a minute in rebuilding his country.

While he was Minister to the United States, his candidacy for the presidency was spontaneously proposed at home, and he won the 1868 election without returning to campaign. His diplomatic mission had brought him Hemisphere-wide fame. In the United States the leading intellectuals of the time were his close friends: Benjamin Gould, Agassiz, Emerson, Longfellow, and others, as well as the Manns. It seemed that all the ambitions of this fighter had been fulfilled. But hard years of more struggles and more accomplishments awaited him. Just as earlier he had alternated between being a teacher and being a soldier, writer, mine foreman, or whatever was needed, so as president he was more than once to turn journalist, lashing out at his enemies in such fashion that his cabinet ministers had to beg him to temper his words. His friend Mary Mann was always present in his mind. He wrote her: "... On October 12 I take over the government, and at that moment the work of creating institutions or making the existing ones practical will begin, and to this end I shall apply the knowledge I have acquired in the United States. . . . Almost immediately I shall get to the business of the Observatory, and Professor Gould, and many other scientific labors."

The list of his government's accomplishments is virtually endless. Among the most outstanding were the creation of the Faculty of Sciences in the city of Córdoba, for which he brought in a team of leading European professors, and the establishment of the Observatory, also in Córdoba, under the direction of Professor Gould. Gould made a map of the southern skies, one of the first and most significant Argentine scientific contributions. Sarmiento also founded the Military School and the Naval School, created the National Protective Commission for Popular Libraries, and established countless schools, for some of which he brought in teachers from the United States. The Stearns and Professor Robert were the first to arrive, bound for the then-famous Normal School of Paraná. After them came numerous contingents of U.S. teachers who scattered all over the country and worked as true missionaries of culture. He also had public funds voted to promote primary education in the provinces. Along other lines, he introduced varieties of wheat and eucalyptus seeds, arranged for the laying of an underwater telegraphic cable to unite Europe with Buenos Aires, organized the National Accounting Office, actively encouraged immigration, and so on and on.

The end of his presidency was momentarily clouded by the struggle among factions, but he was able to hand over power to the winner of the elections, Nicolás Ave-

llaneda, who had been his Minister of Education. That was in October 1874. Still ahead were long years of struggle carried on from a wide variety of public posts, and during all this time he never lost his spirited tone or watchful attitude, ready to pounce on errors and correct them, to awaken consciences, and to cast light wherever necessary. His one passion was always to teach people to read. But he always found the time, even under the worst circumstances, to lead his fellow citizens in any phase of the national life, excluding none.

During his term as president the Civil Code of the nation was approved, and in the same period he was busy seeing about importing new seeds and taking measures to safeguard and increase the forest wealth. But his glorious achievement is summed up in two figures: when he became president, around thirty thousand children were getting primary instruction; when he left office, this school population had risen to a hundred thousand.

Sarmiento kept writing until his death. In 1885, already having published his last basic book, *Conflictos y Armonías de las Razas en América* (Conflicts and Harmonies of the Races in America), he published his last newspaper, *El Censor*, which he used for months to make bitter observations on the presidential campaign.

When his strength failed, doctors recommended the gentle climate of Paraguay. There the great teacher lived in 1887 and 1888, collaborating on school-improvement projects and giving counsel on the country's rudimentary industry and agriculture. The day before his death he had managed to finish a well that located a deep supply of potable water. His last job, never finished, was the translation of an article from the *Political Science Quarterly*.

Sarmiento was, in short, the most vigorous of the Argentine civil heroes, the one who fought most resolutely, guided by his faith, for the future that he knew would come. In order to understand him, it is necessary to see him this way, in the thick of the fight, in a never-ending struggle.

This year marks the sesquicentennial of his birth. Sarmiento's own words express better than any others the profound meaning of his marvelous life: "Born in poverty, brought up in the struggle for existence—more than for my own, for that of my country—hardened to resist all fatigue, fighting for everything I thought good, and with perseverance crowned with success, I have looked at everything civilized on earth and at the full scale of human honors, in the modest proportion of my country and my time: I have been favored with the esteem of many of the great men of the land; I have written some good things, among a lot that was mediocre; and without wealth, which I never coveted, because it was heavy baggage in the incessant conflict, I hope for a good physical death, since my political demise was what I expected, and I did not wish for better, for it was to leave an inheritance of thousands of better-educated people, our country at peace, the institutions secure, and the land crisscrossed by railroads, so that all might participate in the banquet of life that I enjoyed only surreptitiously." ☞

Alexander ille

The Man Who Taught Winnie-the-Pooh to Speak Latin



Lenardo

PAULO RÓNAI

IN AUGUST 1954, during one of the few short breaks between working sessions of the International Congress of Writers in São Paulo, a gentleman sought me out and introduced himself as a fellow countryman of mine. The thick mustache hanging over his mouth, his broad shoulders, his embarrassed gestures, and his soft voice gave him I know not what of the appearance of a good, clumsy bear. He spoke in the diffident way of the modest, using words of consummate courtesy.

He was Dr. Alexander Lenard, a Hungarian physician living in São Paulo. He told me that his hobby was the study of languages and the art of translation. When I said that I was a professor of Latin as well as a writer, and interested in the same kind of things he was, he made me a most unexpected request.

Before settling in São Paulo, he had spent some time in the interior of Paraná state, and he had devoted his spare time to translating into Latin A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*. Now he asked me whether I would look over the result of his efforts.

I had already read Milne's famous children's story, which is known in Brazil under the title of *Dudu de Puf*, and the idea of translating it into Latin seemed to me odd, to say the least. It is a delicious product of English humor, whose charm lies in large measure in its manner of expression, and translating it into any other modern language requires a humorist of Milne's own stature (as was, for example, the Hungarian Karinthy, who rewrote this charming book in the peculiar and undefinable spirit of Budapest, rebaptizing it *Micimackó*). Therefore, I did not understand the need for putting it into Latin, all the more since its imaginative, nonsensical humor bore no resemblance to the products of the Roman mentality, which was much more given to irony. Besides, why translate a book written in a language everyone understands into another that no one reads?

This was what I was thinking, as, taken by surprise, I agreed to look it over during some of my nonexistent free hours. I was merely cautious enough not to assume any obligation as to when I would finish the task.

Shortly afterwards I received the manuscript. It had been on my table for a few weeks without my getting a chance to open it, when a letter from Dr. Lenard arrived. Very delicately, he asked for news of the translation, which, he said, he would not dare to present to the

English publisher, who held the copyright, until some professional had looked it over. "Moreover," he explained, "I am afraid, since ideas generally float in the air, that at this very instant someone else is beating his brains out on the same job, and will present a perfect translation, three days before mine gets there."

Although this possibility seemed to me very remote, I was ashamed, and set about reading the grotesque adventures of the famous teddy bear Winnie-the-Pooh, or rather, Winnie ille Pu. The task immediately became a pleasure. Not only did my correspondent know Latin as few people do; he also understood the Anglo-Saxon humor perfectly and, to carry it over into the other language, he was able to create, with philological erudition, a fun-loving spirit, a jocose, nonsensical Latin, entirely original yet based on the most genuine examples of ancient wit.

I returned the manuscript to Dr. Lenard with a few insignificant changes and half a dozen suggestions, congratulating him on his achievement. I only regretted, I thought to myself, that he had devoted so much patient effort to a jest that had no prospect of finding a publisher. Be that as it may, this pastime must have helped to overcome the tedium of the long days of solitude in Paraná. I recalled the eccentric Frith, a character in Somerset Maugham's *The Narrow Corner*, who, having spent years on a lost island in the Malay Archipelago, working on one more English version of the *Lusiads*, explained his strange passion to a casual questioner in these words: "But now I know that it is only the recluse who enjoys the civilization of cities to the full. At long last I have learnt that it is we exiles from life who get



Rustic setting of Gustavo Richard, where Dr. Lenard runs pharmacy, in one of his own sketches

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"Age, succurrite!" dixit Pu, per decem pedes usque ad ramum
infra se cadens.

most value from it."

My friend Lenard—for we soon became friends through correspondence—was a perfect example of this type of exile. (We saw each other again just once, in 1959, but for such a brief time that we could scarcely exchange ideas: I just noticed that the mustache I had seen in 1954 was now complemented by an impressive beard. Our relations, thus, remained basically epistolary.) Not being very good at adapting himself to his surroundings, he carried on his life on two planes, the trivial and the spiritual. He felt happy in the second, when he could dedicate himself to some exquisite feat of intellectual gymnastics, such as studying Japanese or immersing himself in the immaterial universe of music.

Paradoxically, his excursions into that timeless world once put him in the full spotlight of public curiosity. Appearing as a contestant on the São Paulo TV program *O Céu é o Limite* (The Sky's the Limit), he startled the viewers with his astonishing knowledge of the work of Bach, and stayed on the program for several weeks. For a while his feat was the most talked-about topic in São Paulo. Without exploiting this sudden popularity, Dr. Lenard used the prize money in a most unexpected manner. He left the state capital and bought a pharmacy in an unlikely little place in Santa Catarina state, where he is at the same time druggist, physician, witch doctor, and shaman to several hundred rustic Germans, and he takes delight in studying his patients' dialect, corrupted with Brazilianisms, and their religious syncretism.

His experiences in this tiny place that isn't on the map—Gustavo Richard, formerly Dona Ema—reached me, narrated with an ironic serenity and discrete wit all his own, through the pages of a Hungarian magazine that was published for some years in São Paulo, *Kultura*. In that same publication, copies of which are becoming bibliographic rarities, I followed with impatient delight the chapters of his autobiographical novel *Chegarão Daqui a Quinze Dias* (They Will Arrive Two Weeks From Now), set in the cosmopolitan world of the refugees, in Rome at the end of the war, on the eve of the Allied invasion.

Postcards drawn by my friend, which with a fine Chinese line depicted the anachronistically bucolic land-

scape of his hermitage, or letters full of the tight lines of his very fine hand, periodically brought me news of him. Now and then some printed work would come, always surprising in subject matter, ideas, and style. One time it would be an article in the review *Monde*, in deliciously sarcastic Italian, about the *Enciclopedia Cattolica*; another time it would be an exquisite Latin treatise, written in all seriousness, on some such momentous subject as the origin of breaded veal cutlet!

The most unusual of all, however, was his column of verses. The poems of this Hungarian poet living in Brazil, written in German, bore the Latin title *Ex Ponto* (From the Bridge), as if to symbolize the destiny of the intellectuals of certain unhappy countries, for whom exile is becoming an integral part of daily experience. Evoking Ovid, the prototype of exile poets, the volume revealed a most individual talent and an acute sensitivity, refined by a vast culture that permitted him to add to his arsenal the heritage of a civilization going back many centuries. An event in German literature, this book at the same time was a precious example of the incipient literature of a United States of Europe, bringing to mind landscapes, atmospheres, tastes, myths, and songs of the old continent. Rhymed and rhythmical versions of poems in English, French, Italian, and Hungarian attested to Lenard's virtuosity in another noble and difficult art, that of poetic translation. But what was most arresting and moving was the faithful reflection of the vicissitudes of a sacrificed generation, a viscerally European and sadly contemporary affidavit.

Meanwhile, I would already have forgotten about the translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, if it hadn't been for the news of it that the author gave me in his letters. After he received my suggestions, some of which he accepted, he went on polishing it and licking it like a bear with its cub. "A volume of Tacitus, the satires of Persius, and Petronius and Apuleius, looked at again, also helped to improve my hobbling text a little," he wrote to me in June 1955.

In 1959 I finally received a printed copy of the book. Dr. Lenard had found a publisher for that chimerical translation in the person of Desidério Landy, a former publisher in Budapest who was now a bookseller in Brazil. From his fifth-floor headquarters in *urbe Sancti Pauli Brasiliae*, he ventured to launch a little edition—practically a clandestine one, for it consisted of one hundred copies. One of these reached Stockholm, where the important Svenska Bokförlaget company decided to publish an edition of two thousand copies, with the discrete intention of offering an original Christmas present to its authors, Swedish intellectuals, professors, and humanists. After the first thousand was delivered, the distribution had to be suspended, because the lay public snapped up the next thousand in two weeks. The Swedish publishers rolled out another edition of two thousand, this time for frankly commercial purposes. This success convinced Methuen, the publisher of the English original, who hadn't even wanted to see the translation three years before. The company hastened to get in touch with the hermit of Dona Ema to reopen the matter. Meanwhile, in

São Paulo, the pioneering Landy regretted that he was unable to meet orders that came in from Cambridge, Oxford, Aarhus, Rotterdam, and other illustrious cities, for three hundred copies.

In November, the London publisher put out his own edition of three thousand copies. Meanwhile in the United States, E. P. Dutton and Co., hearing of the miraculous events I have just narrated, smelled good prospects for business and, just before Christmas, or more accurately on December 12, published a fifth edition.

From that moment on, what happened was certainly apocalyptic. The strange book awakened the most diverse reminiscences in book reviewers and critics: some thought of their childhood, when they had read Milne's little book, others of their adolescence, when they had studied Latin in school, or they remembered nostalgically the hours in which they had initiated their children or grandchildren into the adventures of the teddy bear Winnie. In any case, they greeted the new book with happy and enthusiastic notices, in newspapers and magazines as important as the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Times Book Review*, the *Washington Post*, and, last but not least, *Time*. Such unanimous applause from the critics caused the edition to be exhausted in a week. On December 23 the publisher had to put advertisements in the major New York papers asking the forgiveness of the thousands of readers who had not been able to get the book in the bookstores, and announcing a new edition, to come out right after Christmas.

Meanwhile, in the somewhat sensationalist style characteristic of the U.S. press, a writer in the *Houston Post* asserted that "one of the great cultural gaps of the ages has been plugged by a small book which should compensate, in part, for the burning of the library of Alexandria in 640," and the columnist of the *Chicago Tribune* added that the little volume "does more to attract interest in Latin than Cicero, Caesar, and Virgil combined." The *Evening Star* of Washington found no better way to show its enthusiasm than to insert a news report on it in Latin, and many disappointed customers who had been unable to find a copy of *Winnie ille Pu* ordered them from the publisher by telegrams in Latin, thinking they would get quicker attention.

A few days after Christmas a new edition appeared.

His dictis funiculum ab uncino reficiens eum lori retulit; et cum Christophorus Robinus caudam suo loco confixisset, lor tam laetus in silva caudam receptam agitans circumsiliebat, ut Winnie ille Pu sensu insolito et mirabili affectus domum festinare deberet, ut aliquid ad sese sustinendum sumeret.

(Drawings on this page and facing page by E. H. Shepard from the book *Winnie ille Pu* translated and copyrighted 1960 by Alexander Lenard. *Winnie the Pooh* illustrations and text in English copyright 1926 by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. Renewal, 1954, by A. A. Milne. Reproduced by permission of the publishers.)



then another and another. Lewis Nichols, in *The New York Times Book Review*, did not hesitate to call *Winnie* "the greatest book a dead language has ever known" and the editorial writer of the *Monitor* announced that "there is some thought of removing Latin from the list of dead languages." The *Buffalo Evening News* went so far as to suggest that Julius Caesar be dropped from the school curriculum to make room for the Milne-Lenard masterpiece.

By February 6, the printing had run to 52,500 copies, which the publisher considered just a starter, since orders continued to pour in from all over the country. Meanwhile Methuen in England, with three more printings, reached the 12,500 mark. Moreover, telegrams, letters and post cards from delighted fans rained on the Dona Ema redoubt of Dr. Lenard, who also heard for the first time in years from forgotten friends in Germany, Italy, and Canada, and who was so encouraged by it all that he is seriously thinking about beginning a Greek version of *Winnie*.

By the beginning of March more than sixty thousand Latin *Winnies* were circulating in the United States, even before the publishers had sent a prospectus to the country's Latin teachers, who represent an audience par excellence for this triumphant little book. By July, eighty thousand copies had been sold. I wouldn't be surprised if next year U.S. high-school students are studying the Latinized adventures of the friendly teddy bear.

Conclusion: The first U.S. publishing sensation of 1961 was a children's book in Latin, a fact that gives the lie once and for all to the learned theories worked out by so many specialists regarding the indispensable ingredients for a champion best seller. (On June 18, *The New York Times Book Review* placed *Winnie* on its best-seller list for the seventeenth week.) The most unusual part of it, however, is that the language of *Winnie ille Pu, liber celeberrimus omnibus fere liberis notus nunc primum de anglico sermone in Latinum conversus*, is not at all easy. Anyone who thinks that Dr. Lenard invented a sort of basic Latin, reduced and simplified, *ad usum Delphini*, is grievously mistaken. No, the translator made no concessions. I already mentioned that he did not hesitate to turn, not only to the classics but also to the succulent, colorful, and playful language of the writers of the decadent period. He makes use of puns, rhymes, alliterations, rare words, neologisms. None of this, however, cooled the enthusiasm of the public. Finding that they didn't understand very well the book they were all talking about, the buyers went back to the bookstores—not to return their copies, but to buy a "pony," that is, the original English version. Many shrewd booksellers began to offer a special combination rate on the translation and the original together—which made Milne's little book (which has been reprinted more than fifty times since 1926) gain a new and scorching popularity.

Ac quia haec est vera clausula fabulae et ego ultimam post sententiam defatigatus sum, puto me hic finem facere, which is to say, "And that is really the end of the story, and I am very tired after that last sentence, I think I shall stop there." ☞

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FAMILIES

A short story by ENRIQUE LAFOURCADE

Illustrated by SAM ABBOTT

Then Bioy Casares recalled that one of the heresiarchs of Iqbar had declared that mirrors and sexual relations are abominable because they multiply the number of men. *Jorge Luis Borges: "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius."*

ALL THESE INFANTS were left alone when the great alarm sounded. For some unknown reason, doctors, nurses, and aides all shamefully and irresponsibly fled from the Nursery when they heard the sirens, the dramatic announcements on television, and the warnings on the radio.

During the evacuation the parents did not bother either: they did what the laws called for. It was the responsibility of the staff of the Municipal Nursery of Los Angeles to watch out for those babies and give them privileged treatment. However, this was not what happened, and, though it may seem incredible, from the Administrator down to the last janitor they refused this serious mission. We know now that the bomb fell on another city, nearly five hundred miles away. Some nervous military man, some frightened radio or television announcer, despite the fact that it was unnecessary, put into effect Plan E; and the seven and a half million residents of Los Angeles spent hours of anguish and panic. Three hours, to be exact. The rules for taking advantage of the time between the explosion and the fallout of radioactive material were observed to the letter. The letter E. The city was emptied like a punctured balloon, and its whole appearance changed. It looked like a cemetery rather than the beehive it had once resembled, with its wide boulevards, avenues, and freeways deserted; it was filled with papers flying in the wind, among hundreds of empty cars. The plan that had been worked out and tested for two years by the Navy, the Air Force, and the Army made it possible for the city, divided into sections, to be evacuated without dangerous traffic snarls that would block the freeways. More than two thirds of the population had to leave their cars behind. Their cars, their homes, obviously. But also their children, all those less than a year old: some, only a few days old. In the big Municipal Nursery, with its five thousand beds, there were, at the moment of panic, five thousand babies.

ENRIQUE LAFOURCADE, Chilean novelist, recently won the Gabriela Mistral prize for his latest novel, *El Príncipe y Las Ovejas* (*The Prince and the Sheep*). His previous works include: *Pena de Muerte* (*Death Penalty*), *Para Subir al Cielo* (*To Get Up to Heaven*), and *La Fiesta del Ray Acáb* (*King Acab's Feast*). For the past academic year he has been visiting professor of Spanish at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Worst of all in this sort of situation are the rumors, the gossip, the fantastic stories, the imaginings of the seers and the prophets who appear on the scene. Almost all the fugitives had seen—or thought they had seen—the blaze of the bomb. Even when the truth came out, even when it was proved absolutely that the city destroyed was San Francisco, no one wanted to return to Los Angeles. We know now, too, that after we destroyed Stalingrad with another atomic bomb, the whole world rose up in horror and put a stop to the war. The war that lasted a day and a night.

The flight—or strategic evacuation, as it was euphemistically called in the years that followed—began at ten in the morning. By one o'clock in the afternoon, not a soul was left, I mean no thinking person. The sirens, still connected, went on wailing. One-thirty was the time for the second meal in the Municipal Nursery. Soon, the five thousand babies—many of them rudely awakened from their dreams by the commotion—showed signs of impatience, that is, of life. Some started to cry. Others, the older ones, got down from their cribs and went exploring through the hallways, corridors, and rooms of that huge, desolate building. At two, the babies were ravenous. Their shrieking drowned out the sirens, and caused some residents—a courageous few—to get up the nerve to return to Los Angeles from the countryside, and they went back full of stories and rumors, each one more fantastic than the rest.

Ah, babies! What instinct they possess! They smell food several miles away. Before three in the afternoon the infants had found the kitchens, the stockroom loaded with jars, nursing bottles, sterilizers, bottles of milk, bottles of vitamins. Two or three hundred of the strongest and more advanced babies, crawling resolutely, broke into the supplies of food. True, the great abandonment had already produced some victims. Babies only a few months old broke their necks when they fell from their cribs. Five or six suffocated in their sheets, from rage and hunger. Others split their heads open when they fell downstairs. The law of the survival of the fittest operated relentlessly. The survival of the cleverest. Groups, "committees" of almost a hundred of these tender creatures, explored the Nursery, going in and out of offices, dormitories, automatic laundries, operating rooms, grabbing fragile furnishings that crashed to the floor. Many left a yellow trail, just as snails leave a silvery one.

It seemed certain that within hours, a few more or less, these five thousand infants—there were already fewer than that—would die. But something happened, something in which divine will and the science of men played an equal part. Something that directly involved an enormous X-ray machine that was used in the Delivery Room—for incipient cancers—and whose therapeutic results—despite the fact that they were rather mysterious—were the pride of its inventors. A machine that wasn't on but was turned on by one of those innocent little hands. Its beam of green light shimmered on the plastic floor. And the babies began to pass that way, through that ray of sunlight. Each infant that entered there—oh, miracle of the human and heavenly sciences!

—became two. Each one divided parthenogenetically, without effort, without spilling a drop of blood, into two equal parts, which each regained the appearance and size of the original one. And these two, into four, and these four, into eight, and so on. As they passed through the ray of green sunlight, they multiplied. And all of them, almost every one, wanted to play with that light. Soon they overflowed the Delivery Room. Then they filled the corridors, the hallways, and the large dormitories. Afterward, the whole Nursery. It was an army of babies

that kept coming and coming from that light and that threatened never to end, so long as one of them remained under its influence. The Nursery gardens were covered with infants that crawled through the grass. And more and more were coming. Soon, into the streets went this slow-moving army of antlike babies.

Everything was all right until they began to play with the machines.

They had the gift, it seemed, of producing unusual effects on mechanical devices. At five in the afternoon,



a few hours after the beginning of the multiplying process, on account of the monstrous geometrical progression produced by the machine with the green rays, there were eighty thousand babies in the deserted city. By ten there were a million. And on it went. So long as a single innocent babe remained under the warm green of the god, the Municipal Nursery would go on pouring forth infants. Automobiles, in some unexplainable way, started to move. Washing machines started running, vacuum cleaners danced in the streets. Pocket radios began playing. The babies went into supermarkets, banks, movie studios, hotels, stores, factories, restaurants, cafes—playing, moving, pushing buttons. That above all. Pushing buttons. An advance guard of this huge gelatinous body, this protoplasm that was spreading like oil over the city, reached the powerhouses, and then came the explosions, the short circuits, the series of red and yellow streaks of lightning. It is true that many, even thousands, of babies died in this experimenting, but the parthenogenetic machine was creating replacements a hundred times faster. The infants crawled into the machines from behind. They went backstage, into the wings and behind the sets, into the very dreams of the machines. They got under refrigerators, automobiles, cranes. Behind radios and television sets, disconnecting wires, pushing, biting, sucking, licking. The great tide came to the concrete underground vaults. It passed the barriers, over, under; I mean, the warnings, the prohibitions. It poured into the secret military headquarters. Soon it was manipulating buttons again. And now matters really got serious.

By eleven that night, Los Angeles was pure chaos. Lights were going on and off. Phalanxes of babies were crawling along the freeways. Machines had gone crazy. They were burning everything, tossing out Coca-Colas, sandwiches, hamburgers, toast, caramels, scrambled eggs, chewing gum, cigarettes. Airplanes were crashing in mid-air, directed by remote control from the underground vaults. Service stations were in flames, surrounded by babies also in flames. Then, when the protoplasm took over the guided-missile center, rockets, hundreds, thousands of balloon-destroying rockets began to shoot up from hidden emplacements. Rockets and plastic balloons. Rockets that shot toward the desert, furiously. While the radioactive clouds still hung over the ruins of San Francisco—with its strong odor of burnt Chinese—the world had to worry about this other danger. What was going on in Los Angeles? The few observers who dared, at midnight, to venture toward the city, came back terrified. "An immense artificial fire. Incineration, flames, lights, explosions. Disorder. The movie projectors were throwing their pictures on the clouds. And the rockets were still wreaking havoc, raking the country." That night was a night of abomination and cruel sport. And the glowing day came and the babies were now thirty million strong, and the machines were insane. Oil wells, apartment buildings, bridges, churches, towers, everything belched forth smoke and fire. Radio transmitters—some of them functioned automatically—were sending over the airwaves an incomprehensible gibberish, sinister noises, of another race, an unknown language.

The linguistic experts could agree—with the haste inherent in this investigation—on only two words, which, curiously, were identical to ones in our language, although the first was just an onomatopoeic attempt at expression. They were *agoo* and *mama*.

The following afternoon, someone solved the mystery. But he was ridiculed, accused of making up stories. They laughed at him, and since he had no proof, and everything was contrary to the laws of science, he had to keep quiet and hide his shame.

It was not until San Diego flew into the sky—as a result of a rocket with an atomic warhead set in motion by an innocent little pink hand in the push-button catacombs—that the entire country, the entire world, turned its attention to this danger. The new race that was covering, taking over the colossus. The new race, wise as no other in the art of manipulating buttons, pulling electric switches. The new race hidden—safely—in the enormous underground vaults filled with delicate instruments. Fear ran through the marrow.

A respectable Los Angeles couple, who had returned across the fields of vegetables, at the risk of their lives, to find out what had become of their children, their dear children, who had been abandoned because of municipal negligence, stopped short, stunned and terrified, at the outskirts of the city. Along the freeways came the babies, side by side, united like a single huge rosy body, crawling fast, climbing over and crushing their neighbors, biting each other. Suddenly, in a flash of recognition, the woman's eyes met those of one of the infants.

"It's Ephraim!" she cried, fainting from grief.

"Mama! Mama!" cried Ephraim, before sinking in the strawberry jam.

The husband dragged her across the hills. The babies who were shoving each other along the freeways were now wailing, "Mama! Mama!" The cry, contagious and easy, caught on with the millions of babies—forty, fifty million, who knows how many, since that machine was still on and a baby was still playing under it.

"Mama! Mama!" the throng howled hoarsely; I mean, clearly.

The mother wept disconsolately.

"It was Ephraim," she assured her husband.

"Yes, it was," he replied, soberly. And he added, "But, which of all those Ephraims was your Ephraim?"

The second day of the multiplication was coming to an end. What had no end was the power of the source, the energy of the green light, that doubled, tripled its legions.

"Do you know what this is going to be?" asked the woman, now really frightened, as she stared blindly across the fields.

"Yes, I know. They're playing. They're playing with buttons!" he murmured, shuddering as if he had a chill.

"What are we going to do? What are we going to do?"

The husband grew excited, and dismissed the flames and explosions and the satellites and rockets with a terrible gesture. He replied in a low voice:

"Wait till they grow up, my dear! Wait till some day they grow up!" ☞



President Rómulo Betancourt gives a farmer a house key and the title to twenty-five-acre parcel in Portuguesa State

Land for **VENEZUELAN**S

LOUIS O. DELWART

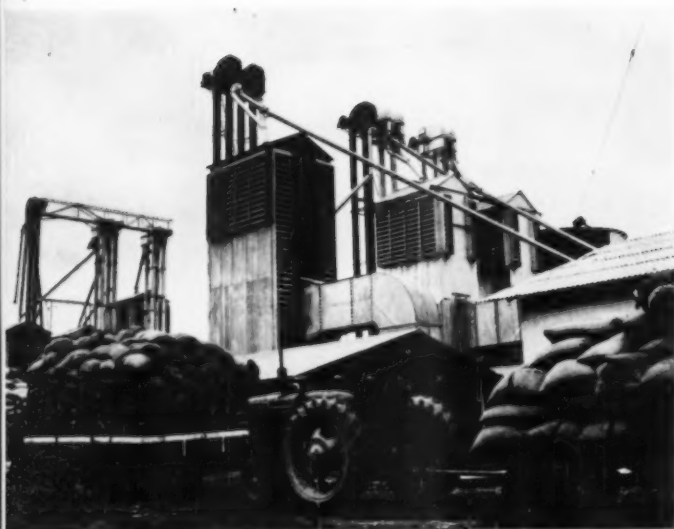
THE RETURN of democratic government in Venezuela has rekindled interest in the problem of greater justice in land distribution, and has brought a keener realization of the under-utilization of the country's land resources. This renewed concern with agricultural problems culmi-

nated in the Agrarian Reform Law of 1960, which was designed as a large-scale attack on the twin questions of land tenure and agricultural underdevelopment and neglect.

Historical Background

Land tenure in Venezuela today has two principal characteristics. One is a considerable degree of concentration of ownership in the hands of a very few land-owners; the other is the enormous area of publicly owned land. On the first count, Venezuela is little different

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Central drying plant handles harvests of rice and other grains for farm colonists at Turén

from a majority of those Latin American countries with which it shares a Spanish heritage. On the second, Venezuela is more of a special case. On both counts, Venezuela's present land tenure system can be said to be largely the result of the country's vicissitudes during the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth. For details of the history of land tenure, see *Posición y Doctrina*, by Rómulo Betancourt, on which the discussion in this section is largely based.

Back in the days when Venezuela was a Spanish colony, agriculture there meant, for all practical purposes, the latifundium. In Venezuela, as almost anywhere else in Spanish America, the kings of Spain had made land grants to their favorites or to the Spanish notables of the area, extending usually "as far as the eye could see." While these grants naturally deprived the natives of their property, those earlier residents of the area had not by then reached an agricultural tradition comparable in any way to that of the more advanced pre-Columbian civilizations of Peru and Mexico. This resulted in a difference in peasant attitudes. While atavistic memories in Mexico and Peru were to fire revolts in the countryside, peasant uprisings were not a part of Venezuela's history.

Venezuela's War of Independence was led by a segment of the landowning class, and this would in itself necessarily put somewhat of a damper on popular aspirations for land reform. This situation, however, did not prevent some of the revolutionary leaders from promising land reform.

In fact, José Antonio Páez, one of the leaders of the revolutionary army, promised the peasant soldiers of his army more than civil liberties and political independence. He also assured them that—once independence had been won—the land confiscated from the Spanish royalists would be distributed to them. Páez even obtained assurance to that effect from Bolívar in 1816, and Venezuela's first land reform, the *Ley de Repartos*, was passed. The

new law granted, on paper, extensive tracts of land to the peasantry.

Unfortunately, Bolívar's attempts to enforce land reform were frustrated, and the Congress, dominated by the landowners, eventually substituted for the land reform law a system of bonus payments to the veterans of the patriot army. Tragically, these payments quickly found their way into the pockets of the military caudillos.

Frustrated by being deprived of the land they had been promised, the discharged peasant soldiers, after twenty years of continual warring, turned to large-scale brigandage and cattle smuggling.

In other circumstances, such evidence of social unrest might have pricked the sensitivities of the ruling classes and stimulated them to new efforts to arrive at a more just system of land tenure. Instead, they reacted with repressive measures, and the notorious *Ley de Hurtos* was passed. That law, directed at thievery and vagrancy, provided the death penalty for cattle thieves and similar offenders.

This reaction of the landed classes spelled the end of all serious attempts at land redistribution in the nineteenth century, and the system of land tenure remained virtually unchanged until the dictator Juan Vicente Gómez appeared on the scene in 1908.

Things became worse during the Gómez regime, from



Colonists receiving instruction in mechanized farming methods

1908 until 1935. He had an insatiable desire for land, and by honest or dishonest means, he acquired for himself, his family, and his cronies a very respectable percentage of all the arable land of Venezuela. This naturally increased the maldistribution of land; it also caused a decline in agricultural and cattle production.

This turn of events, deplorable in itself, had, however, a saving grace. Upon Gómez's overthrow, these considerable estates became public property, and this vast fund of public lands is now making much easier and less costly today's task of land redistribution.

Venezuela's Agriculture: The Setting

Venezuelan agriculture has a few peculiarities which set it apart from that of most other Latin American countries.

First of all, agriculture is a relatively insignificant

sector of the Venezuelan economy. Only a little more than 6 per cent of the gross national product originated in it in 1959. This is considerably less than the proportion in relatively unindustrialized countries like Guatemala and Ecuador, and it is also less than in the newly industrializing countries of Mexico and Brazil. This condition is partly a direct statistical reflection of the giant size of the petroleum sector in Venezuelan production (28.8 per cent in 1959). Partly, however, it reflects neglect of agriculture in a high-cost economy, rich in foreign exchange that could be lavished on food imports.

Venezuela's agriculture is also characterized by the minute portion of the country that is under crops. According to a 1956 sample survey of land use, only 3 per cent of the land area was in crops. An additional 3 per cent was in artificial pasture, and 17 per cent in natural or unimproved pasture. Therefore, for all practical purposes, three quarters of the land was unexploited. True, half of that remaining land lies in the Guayanas (Bolívar state) and Amazonas areas, which remain inaccessible in the absence of roads. Much of the rest could be exploited, however. In fact, it has been estimated by a recent International Bank mission that, assuming present prices and production costs, an additional 7.5 million acres could successfully be developed in the Maracaibo Basin and Portuguesa-Barinas areas. This alone would represent a 50 per cent increase in the area under crops or improved pastures.

The maldistribution of land ownership reaches rather extreme proportions in Venezuela. According to the 1956 sample survey, 1.7 per cent of Venezuela's farm families owned 75 per cent of the land under use. These 6,000-odd families owned 55 million acres in estates of never less than twenty-five thousand acres and usually very much more. At the other end of the scale, 81 per cent of farm families work land parcels of less than twenty-five acres, most of them working less than ten.

All of these small farms together account for only 4 per cent of the land. This means that the bulk of the land is owned in large estates that are inadequately exploited, while the majority of the agricultural population works on uneconomically small parcels of land.

To round out the picture, one must add that on the more accessible publicly owned lands, an estimated two hundred thousand squatters are reported to eke out a meager living.

The plight of the small peasant and farmer is more conspicuous in Venezuela than in some of the other Latin American countries because his misery stands in such contrast to the wealth of Caracas. There exists everywhere in Latin America a substantial gap between farm and non-farm income, but nowhere does this gap reach the extreme size of that in Venezuela, where a worker in Caracas draws an annual average wage of 14,500 bolívars, when he is employed, while an agricultural worker receives only 1,500 bolívars, or about one tenth as much. But mass exodus from the countryside in recent years and the interruption of many construction projects undertaken by the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship have created a serious unemployment problem in the Caracas area.

Harvesting sesame



New land that is being cleared for settlement under National Agrarian Institute program

Stagnation and the Small Farmer

As mentioned before, small farmers on units of less than twenty-five acres work only 4 per cent of the land. Their share of total output may be a little higher, since they cultivate their land more assiduously and devote a higher proportion of it to crops, leaving animal husbandry mainly to the larger farms. On the other hand, small-farm methods of production are usually terribly inefficient and their equipment is very primitive, so that they are working under a considerable handicap. On balance, their output is not likely to be greatly in excess of their share of the land.

The typical small farm has a planted area of between two and five acres and an average size of about seven or eight acres. Productivity is low, partly because of tropical diseases, partly because of the traditional methods of production. Of all 320,000 small-farm families perhaps two thirds live at the subsistence level, produce only for their own consumption, and have no contact with agricultural markets. The poor among them work as shifting cultivators and use only a machete and a planting stick; some of the families do better and have organized small mixed farms, or specialized farms producing for the market.

The great postwar industrial development of Venezuela, together with a rapidly increasing population, stimulated the demand for foodstuffs. Agricultural production responded, and increased very substantially, at a rate in excess of 5 per cent a year.

The tragedy of this situation was, however, that this solid rate of growth did not benefit the small farmer, whose output remained relatively stagnant. Growth was



concentrated in cattle, milk, and a variety of industrial crops, all generally produced on large-scale, commercially organized farms. Price supports, protection, and other government incentives were effective in encouraging greater output in the commercial sector, which displayed a growing ability to modernize and use equipment, fertilizers, and other improvements. In contrast, the small farmers severally did not react to greater opportunity, and, as a result, fell further behind the rest of the economy in income and output.

The Agrarian Reform

The Agrarian Reform Law passed by the Venezuelan Congress in 1960 was characterized by its unusually broad and ambitious objectives. The law contemplates more than an improved land tenure system; it also sees clearly that land redistribution must go hand in hand with a modernization of the methods of production, which alone can result in increased output and higher incomes for the agricultural population.

The Venezuelan land reform program is expected to concentrate its efforts particularly on raising the income and living standards of those agricultural workers who now live at the edge of starvation. This creates additional difficulties, since this category of farm operators is proving relatively immune to conventional incentive measures such as price supports and credit. This means that the raising of standards in subsistence agriculture is likely to require a complex, long-term job of education and technical assistance.

The National Agrarian Institute gives land reform three objectives and ties them to successive phases of the program. The objectives are to be obtained one after the other, although some overlapping is expected to take place.

The first objective is to slow down the present very high rate of exodus from the country to the cities, in particular, to the capital city of Caracas. The authorities believe that the program of land redistribution, once it is substantially under way, will contribute effectively to keeping the people on the land.

The second, longer-range objective is to transform the newly owned farms into viable economic units. This

is to be done by means of credit, and through the provision of housing and technical assistance. Some credit and technical assistance has already been provided but, by and large, this part of the program is not yet in full swing, and what there is of it does not yet function completely satisfactorily.

A third and final objective is to make the Venezuelan farmer-owner an active participant in the economic development of his country. To this end, plans have been drawn which, it is hoped, will stimulate small farmers to engage effectively in the production of cattle, dairy products, vegetable oils, and other agricultural raw materials necessary for industry. It is fair to say, however, that this phase of the program has not really begun.

This is definitely a large-scale effort, as can be easily understood once it is realized that some four hundred thousand families of farm tenants, sharecroppers, squatters, and agricultural workers—that is to say, more than two million people—are to benefit from it, over a period of ten years. This means, in effect, that a majority of Venezuelan families now living on the land will each own their own plot by 1970. If Venezuela succeeds in achieving this feat on schedule, it will have far out-done the performance of Mexico, which relocated approximately two million families over a forty-year period. Keeping in mind both Venezuela's much smaller population and the shorter span of time involved, the projected rate of resettlement of Venezuela's agricultural population is four times as fast as that of post-revolutionary Mexico.

In most individual cases, land reform in Venezuela will mean a transfer of title from present owners to the tenants, sharecroppers, and others who already work the land to be distributed. This is only logical.

However, much land not presently worked by agricultural workers will also be subject to expropriation. This is the case particularly for unproductive land and land used as natural pasture for fattening cattle on the range. While this will mean the breaking up of many large estates, the owners will retain the option of keeping part of their land—an area not to exceed 370 acres of first-class arable land or its equivalent in other categories, ranging up to 12,355 acres for inferior grazing land.

Such are the plans, and they are ambitious. But what has actually been accomplished so far? Quite a lot, if we limit ourselves to the problem of transfer of ownership alone. During 1960, the year in which the Agrarian Reform Law was passed, approximately 130,000,000 acres of land was distributed to 24,000 families. The average size of the new farm units was approximately fifty acres, making them economical and efficient. While the land distributed so far amounts to less than 2 per cent of the total land area reported in the census, it nevertheless represents an area half as large as all the land held in plots of less than twenty-five acres.

Of the 130,000,000 acres distributed in 1960, about half—generally those lands located in more populated areas—were acquired by expropriation of some 150 estates of private owners, who were compensated about one third in cash and two thirds in long-term bonds. The other half of the land distributed consisted of idle or



Corn grows tall at Manuare colony



Officials of National Agrarian Institute and Agricultural Bank listen to pleas of landless farmers



Children, colony, and new tree will grow up together

publicly owned lands, often in areas of lower population density.

While changes in land tenure can be said to be proceeding apace, other aspects of the agrarian reform seem to be lagging behind. This is true, in particular, of the provision of services such as agricultural credit, research and extension, market research and organization, rural housing, formation of agricultural cooperatives, roads, irrigation systems, and rural schools and hospitals.

A Few Clouds

That Venezuela has made an energetic start in its task of land redistribution is abundantly clear. The task is doubtless made easier by the very considerable area of publicly owned lands and by the large government revenues that can be drawn on to purchase private estates.

Nonetheless, it is easy to see that such a vast program, with a generous social content, is likely to run into a number of difficulties, particularly in a country, such as Venezuela, where administrative resources are still not in abundant supply. A number of problems have already cropped up, and more will probably arise. They could well slow down the land reform program, or make it less effective and more costly.

Land speculation has not been absent, and there is

some evidence that the land reform program has provided an opportunity for some owners to sell land at unconscionable prices. In addition, large landholders have said that the fear of expropriation has slowed the rate of investment on the land; it must be said, however, that little information is available to support this charge.

Agricultural credit is proving to be a more serious problem. On the one hand, there is not enough of it to be of real assistance to the new farmer-owners. On the other, present credit programs are already proving to be such a strain on administrative resources that loan supervision is not completely adequate. This results in a diversion of the borrowed funds to consumption purposes, and a sizable percentage of defaults.

This state of affairs poses a serious dilemma, since the projected improvements in production methods will require the acquisition of fertilizers and grain, the construction of drainage, and other improvements, which would seem to make necessary a future expansion of the already strained supervised credit facilities.

The International Bank has suggested a way out of this situation. It consists in replacing in large measure the supervised credit program by a program of subsidies that would enable small farmers (for example, those cultivating less than twenty-five acres) to purchase on a token-payment basis, or even receive free of charge, given quantities of fertilizers, poultry, and other assistance. The administrative difficulties experienced by programs of supervised credit for small farmers in other countries of Central and South America indicate that the supervision problem posed is fairly general; this might indicate that the suggestions of the International Bank might be worth consideration, at least for some products. (See *The Economic Development of Venezuela*, a mission report by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961.)

Land Reform Experience of Other Latin American Nations

Venezuela is not alone in experimenting with land reform. Two countries in Latin America have pioneered in that field: Mexico since the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, and Bolivia since the revolution led by the MNR party in 1952. The Cuban land reform program is much more recent and is being conducted under conditions too different from those prevailing today in Venezuela to allow for fruitful comparison. Colombia has also a sizable program of land settlement, Ecuador has begun a more modest distribution of state-owned land, and Guatemala has distributed modest amounts of land from time to time.

The Mexican land reform program in particular has already drastically altered Mexico's system of land tenure, and in that sense it can be said to be substantially completed. In economic terms, the peasant owners have undoubtedly benefited over the years, but it is not quite clear to what extent this has been due to land reform and to what extent it must be traced to the general wave of economic progress that has engulfed the country

in recent years. Socially, however, the reform has been a complete success and feudal forms have disappeared in Mexico.

It is noteworthy that the Mexicans have approached the problem of land distribution in a way that differs from the method used so far by the more individualistic Venezuelans. While the Venezuelan program envisages only the distribution of plots to individual families, most of Mexico's estates were distributed in the form of community-owned *ejidos*.

The Bolivian land reform has been less successful. General economic stagnation, inflation, lack of financial resources, slow and complex procedures, and weak administrative cadres have combined to slow the program down considerably. As a result, even though land redistribution has been accelerated somewhat in recent years, only 10 per cent of the agricultural population has been relocated since distribution began in 1955. In addition, land may have been fractioned excessively, and, as a result of lack of direction and inadequate provision for credit and other facilities, the new owners have generally been unable to produce more than enough for simple subsistence. However, as in Mexico, the feudal system of social relationships in the countryside has been disappearing rather rapidly, and this alone must be considered a substantial achievement.

Compared to these countries, Venezuela, with the help of its considerably greater resources, is moving with greater speed and should continue to do so in the future. As mentioned before, one notable feature of the Mexican and Bolivian land programs has been their interest in cooperative patterns of farming, derived from their Indian population. While Venezuela, with entirely different attitudes, is unlikely to follow in their footsteps, less comprehensive cooperative arrangements, limited to the

purchase of seed and implements or to the sale of produce, could do much to improve the bargaining power and the economic position of Venezuela's small farmers.

Land Reform: No Cure-All

The experience of Mexico and Bolivia suggests that Venezuela's reform of land tenure is likely to eliminate the social structure along caste lines that prevails in the countryside. This is not the final goal of all progress, however, and it is clear that an additional job of considerable magnitude will have to be performed if the new Venezuelan peasant owners are properly to exercise their human and political rights and make more rational economic decisions.

While one of the objectives of the Venezuelan land reform is a greater degree of human dignity, another is increased productivity. Such progress cannot be expected to follow automatically from an improved system of land tenure. The opposite might even happen. There is in fact the dramatic example of a Latin American country where a change in tenure system from plantations to privately-owned plots resulted in substantial economic retrogression. This was the case of Haiti, where the changeover to subsistence farming meant a deterioration in production methods and the loss of overseas outlets provided through the commercial connections of plantation owners. No such dramatic effects should be felt in Venezuela, where large estates have long remained unproductive in any case. However, should land redistribution signal a large-scale return to subsistence agriculture, even without an actual loss of output, there would be little cause for rejoicing. Land reform would in that case have provided only the anesthetic happiness of newly acquired land ownership. Clearly, Venezuela's dynamic society is aiming at greater rewards. ☛

Farmers who will receive plots come to the official division of San Juan de Dios hacienda in Güigüe, Carabobo State



THE OAS IN ACTION

THE TASK AT MONTEVIDEO

The cabinet-level economic conference in Montevideo—a special meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council—carries forward the spirit of Operation Pan America and the Act of Bogotá adopted in September of last year, and stems from the broader approach advanced by President Kennedy in his addresses of March 13 and April 14.

There has been widespread concern that, where economic development has occurred in Latin America, it has benefited only a few of the people, and that it is necessary to make it benefit the majority. The two main points summed up in the Act of Bogotá are the placing of foreign capital at the service of investments for social welfare—something that international financial agencies had previously refused to consider—and the assumption by the governments that signed the Act of an obligation to give adequate weight to policies and investments designed to raise the standard of living of the masses, especially in the fields of improvement of agriculture and rural life, housing, public health, and education.

But the Act of Bogotá did not mean a full-scale attack on the broad range of Latin America's economic and social problems. The call for this came from President Kennedy, who invited the Latin American countries to undertake global development programs. He also touched on two problems that Latin America considers basic: better economic integration, and a reasonable stabilization of the prices of Latin America's basic export products.

In asking for the special meeting to discuss all this, the United States did not take a rigid position in favor of predetermined solutions. As adopted by the OAS Council, the agenda leaves room for consideration and discussion of the problems on the broadest scale.

It was divided into four parts, and groups of outstanding experts from all over the Hemisphere were asked to serve as working parties to spell out recommendations. They were to act on a personal, professional basis. All of these working parties had the assistance not only of the PAU staff but also of the Inter-American Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America.

The first group, which chose Felipe Pazos, economic consultant to the Development Bank of Puerto Rico and former President of the National Bank of Cuba, as its chairman, dealt with planning for economic and social development, and with the

annual review of the countries' efforts in this direction. The report of this group reviews the elements and guiding principles for both short-term and long-term planning, and makes recommendations for the inter-American phases of the work. The minimum goals it lists for a development program are: 1) The achievement, over the next ten years, of an annual rate of growth of at least 2½ per cent in per capita income in each Latin American country. 2) Increased agricultural production. Yields must be increased, and inefficiently run vast properties or dwarf holdings should be replaced by well-equipped farms of a workable size. 3) Maintenance of a reasonably stable price level. 4) A more equitable distribution of income.

The principal recommendation for coordinating planning was for creation of an inter-American Standing Committee on Development Plans, to evaluate both national plans and the way they are being carried out. It would give consideration to how the plans meet commitments under the Act of Bogotá or new agreements; to the countries' efforts to mobilize their own resources; to the needs for external financing; and to the effect of one plan on those of the other countries. This report also stressed that long-term plans will need a long-term commitment of sufficient foreign financing.

The second working group, headed by Javier Márquez, Director of the Center for Latin American Monetary Studies, in Mexico, took up the problems of Latin American economic integration. It made recommendations both for strengthening the existing Central American Economic Association (designed to create an economic union among Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua) and the Latin American Free Trade Association (Montevideo Treaty), and for bringing other countries into the integration movement.

A third group, headed by Ernesto Fernández Hurtado, Assistant Director of the Bank of Mexico, studied the problems of the markets for basic export products, and methods designed to maintain a more stable level of prices.

The fourth group, led by Roberto García Peña, editor of the newspaper *El Tiempo* of Bogotá, Colombia, made recommendations for mobilizing public opinion in support of an accelerated development program, encouraging the reforms that are necessary within a framework of freedom, democracy, social justice, and respect for human rights.

At Montevideo, the countries cannot solve all these varied and complex problems, but they can fix objectives and create the machinery they need for development planning that will be carried effectively into action.

JORGE SOL CASTELLANOS

Assistant Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs



Speaking OF MEXICO

A Survey of Recent Cultural Trends

MARGARITA MICHELENA

The Theater

The theatrical event of this season has been the presentation, after dark in the open air, of Sergio Magaña's *Moctezuma* at the pyramids of Teotihuacán. Although the location is an hour from Mexico City and it is reached by a road that leaves much to be desired, the play, the name of the great actor Ignacio López Tarso—one of the most distinguished in the country—and the beauty of the scenery attracted a large and enthusiastic audience, drawn from all social classes.

Moctezuma is, by all standards, true high tragedy, written with no concessions, with exemplary aesthetic rigor, comparable only to a work like *Murder in the Cathedral*. In it Magaña has given the Mexican theater not only an undisputed masterpiece but also what amounts to, up to now, its purest and most brilliant moment.

Cuahtémoc, the hero, represents the epic; Moctezuma, the man, tragedy. The unfortunate Aztec emperor is the most mysterious, least deciphered personage in the history of the Conquest, although his enigma alone has irresistibly attracted—one could well say fascinated—two Mexican writers: Magaña himself, and the poet Manuel Calvillo, who is now working on this theme in his great poem *El Inmigrante* (The Immigrant). As a curious fact, both artists coincide in their interpretation of Moctezuma, the victim until now of a historical convention that describes him as a decadent, pusillanimous sybarite, overcome with terror by the omens and vanquished even before Cortés set foot on the soil of Tenochtitlán.

Magaña and Calvillo see him, of course, in very different ways. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin is, for both, a much more modern man than Cortés; he is the advocate of a social order very different from the one he had been taught, which, for Magaña, is represented by the old minister Cihuacoatl, still kneeling before the bloody

altars of Huitzilopochtli, leaning tremulously over the terrible abyss of the predictions: the blond gods have arrived and everything shall perish. So say the blue-taloned eagles that fall upon the kingdom. It is the hour for sacrifice without respite, for supplication, for pleasing the gods with words and offerings of blood. Moctezuma is a rationalist who prefers proofs to predictions, an advanced and wise politician who energetically rejects the growing intervention of the clergy and the military caste. And he is valiant, like all those who do not fear to be alone with the intellect and its questions. He is also aware of his power and knows how to assume his responsibility and his glory. He is the head of the kingdom. His only ally, the strong, silent arm. And he is, furthermore, the most learned, refined man of his place and time. Compared to him, Cortés becomes a masterful, but rude, adventurer, a man emerging from the Middle Ages and still involved in a medieval enterprise, a man whose genius was serving only the contingencies of the moment, and who still conceived of power not as an end but as a means for acquiring riches and for escaping the problem of control by the homeland. (The form of municipal government he set up in Veracruz, making astute use of the forms developed and used in Spain to obtain power and authority for himself, and with them to legitimize and gain independence for his adventure, unequivocally shows us the bold and meddlesome features of his character, which contrasts sharply with the consciousness of his own natural greatness and hereditary rights that governs the conduct of Moctezuma.)

Official history depicts for us a valiant Cortés and a frightened Moctezuma. For Magaña, the Spanish captain knows fear, that fear that overtakes us when we face the danger of the unknown and, at a given moment, is converted into a kind of instinctive valor, a blind mechanism for self-defense and self-preservation. Moctezuma, on the other hand, is cloaked in fortitude and serenity that will not falter before the threat of the prophecies, the betrayal and abandonment by his allies, and the seductive power that Cortés—to him only a man—has over the offended tributary peoples of the empire. In the end, it is because of the beautiful Mixteca girl he had given

MARGARITA MICHELENA OF MEXICO, whom Antonio Castro Leal has called "one of the most distinguished poets of the younger generation," is the author of *Paraíso y Nostalgia* (Paradise and Nostalgia) and *Laurel del Ángel* (The Angel's Laurel).

Cortés and who is returned to him disfigured by smallpox and already smelling of death that the king collapses, not through fear but because, like all true tragic heroes, he recognizes suddenly and irremediably, in a glaring moment of revelation, the invincible countenance of destiny and submits, he, too, paralyzed by the gods and bound to the eternal rock by the omnipotent will. When neither the prediction, nor the defection and crimes of his vassals, nor the gloomy declarations of Cihuacoatl could crush his spirit, this was achieved by beauty destroyed, the only certain sign of the anger of the gods and their fateful decree. Night falls over Tenochtitlán, and Moctezuma, amidst the desolation of his household and the confusion of his kingdom, awaits the conqueror and death.

With this work, we repeat, Magaña confirms beyond dispute that he holds first place in our national drama, in exploring an area of our culture and feeling previously trod only by a kind of declamatory pseudo poetry or operatic humbug. Magaña reveals to us the enormous possibilities of Mexican tragedy and is the first to arrive in its vast and lofty regions.

Héctor Azar, another young man nationally important in the drama, is preparing the presentation of his *Olimpica*, a work in which he has succeeded in transplanting the motifs of Greek tragedy to the setting of the Mexican middle class. For its character and objectives, this work stands directly in the line of *Los Signos del Zodiaco* (The Signs of the Zodiac), by Magaña himself, although it surpasses it in some respects.

Salvador Novo—who belonged to that very brilliant group who rejuvenated Mexican culture, known as the *Contemporáneos*, who were active during the third decade of this century and included figures like José

Gorostiza, Carlos Pellicer, Xavier Villarrutia, and Jaime Torres Bodet—has just opened his *Yocasta o casi* (Jocasta, or almost) at the Xola Theater of the Mexican Institute of Social Security, an agency that seems to have openly assumed the responsibility for encouraging good theater in Mexico. This play is a most skillfully constructed drama, with brilliant dialogue, deliciously written, but one that, in spite of all its formal merits, does not go beyond the limits of conventional bourgeois theater. Once again, yesterday's revolutionaries are today's reactionaries.

The experimental groups—so useful, so necessary—have disappeared almost completely, with the exception of a few university theaters, coordinated by Héctor Azar. One notices particularly the absence of *Poesía en Voz Alta* (Poetry Spoken Aloud), the group Octavio Paz and Juan Soriano brought to life and that presented magnificent adaptations of the classics and various short works in which, by making use of the best resources of surrealist theater and even going beyond them, Elena Garro revealed herself as one of the most original and solid talents in Mexican theater.

Poetry

While we are speaking of Octavio Paz, it would be well to mention that his poems have finally been collected in one volume, *Libertad Bajo Palabra* (Freedom on Parole)—a title in which Paz gives us his own definition of poetry—by the Fondo de Cultura Económica. To the careful reader this book discloses more than one unknown, and it awaits a study that will reveal with precision its vast complexity and trace the poet's way through the vital experiences, the reading and research that contributed to the construction of those poems, through

Famous Mexican actor Ignacio López Tarsó plays heroic Aztec emperor Moctezuma awaiting Cortés' arrival



which, as a group, one becomes aware of that rare metabolic power and that constant searching that have made of Octavio a poet who is always young, and of the synthesis of currents and discoveries that crown his maturity in, for example, *Piedra de Sol* (Sun Stone), the great poem in which Octavio, starting from biographical facts, ends in untouched areas of metaphysical inquiry.

The Fondo de Cultura Económica has also just published a book of poetry that brings together a handful of young writers, almost adolescents: *La Espiga Amotinada* (The Mutinous Wheat). This anthology includes Juan Bañuelos, Jaime Augusto Shelley, Eraclio Zepeda, Oscar Oliva, and Jaime Labastida, and omits another poet of the same tastes and lineage: José Antonio Montero.

Varying in skills, tone, and resources, these young men have a common concern, an essential theme, as Agustí Bartra notes in the prologue: man. The group, whose extreme youth does not shut out but rather intensifies consciousness of the creative task, focuses on its central problem from the most diverse perspectives: astonishment, anger, rebellion, despair, or hope, but always with the common denominator of love, of consciousness of their own lineage and of belonging to it, of, in the words of Bañuelos, "the eternal present or the eternal past," of timelessness and the circumstantial simultaneously. As the title of the book indicates, these poets take a position of complete rebellion that includes, first and foremost, the very repertory of words by which poetry must be revealed and communicated. It is, then, a revolutionary group, but one without a common program or method. But, we repeat, in all its components it is inspired, above and beyond the mere political contingency that seems to seduce some of them, by the basic concern of true poetry always: to make man the central figure, to be his conscience, his point of reference; to make the poet lose his own personal identity and the name he happens to bear, which are converted into those of each and every human being.

The most recent Mexican poetry is enriched by another prospect, one whose realization is imminent: José Emilio Pacheco, a poet who, at twenty-one, shows himself already in full control of a gift that is very rare among most of our poets: complete domination, natural and profound, of the language in which he expresses himself, something that permits him to write a poetry of almost pure meaning that reminds us that "*de desnuda que está brilla la estrella*" ("out of its nakedness the star shines"). Pacheco's poems are much closer to sober plateresque sgraffito than to the delirious protuberances of the baroque, show a solid architectonic in their poetical discourse, and disclose an attentive and assiduous reader of the classics of the Spanish language, visible in the pure unobstructed fluency of the weighty material and in the refined auditory sensitivity of the poet, who frequently prefers verses of eleven and seven syllables, alternating very flexibly and accentuated by a true instinct for the musical resources of his own language.

This recent and quite general turning toward syllabic music seems to be one of the salient features of the newest Mexican poetry. Octavio Paz himself constructed

his *Piedra de Sol* with nobly handled eleven-syllable lines. The younger generations give the impression of having listened to the advice of Pellicer in favor of the tightening-up effect of syllabic music as a purifying means in poetry. For the rest, I think—although any research in this direction is a matter of interest and a sign of vitality—the very structure of Spanish, so contrary to the quantitative versification of Latin and Greek, and with as many possibilities as the accentual versification of English, for example, leads logically to the syllabic measure, which in no way interferes with the validity and contemporaneity of our poetry.

Painting

There seems to have been a temporary lull in important exhibitions of Mexican painting, if we except the one of the excellent young artist Lilia Carrillo and a group show that included both living and dead painters belonging to the realm of the consecrated: Orozco, Rivera, Izquierdo, Atl, and others.

A very significant fact—plainly manifested in the Second Biennial of Painting, Engraving, and Sculpture in 1960—is the undeniable one that the so-called "Mexican School," meaning an academy obviously suffering from stiffness of its joints, is definitely on the way out. A certain kind of painting, very arbitrarily called "realism," and impregnated with what some ingenuous souls call "a social message"—which is really mere political literature—had set itself up among us as the incarnation of inviolable dogma, and David Alfaro Siqueiros was among its principal censors of all possible crimes of heresy. Any culprit guilty of such an offense was expelled from the exhibitions, especially from the official ones, ferociously castigated by the critical apparatus of the dictators of painting, and condemned to silence or exile. But little by little a new revolutionary movement was formed, which would get rid of the sclerosis of the dogmas and their priests. And Mexican painting has again acquired vitality, animated by the common aim of all our creative arts: to reveal, truthfully and essentially, the particular elements of our physiognomy in order to integrate them into the universal panorama, reaching unity by way of fertile diversity. This aim is certainly far removed from the former noxious "nationalist" zeal and is part of a substantial plan that has been acquiring congruency and unanimity beginning with Samuel Ramos' observations on Mexican thought, continuing with *El Laberinto de la Soledad* (The Labyrinth of Solitude) by Octavio Paz, and even reaching the terrain of psychoanalytic studies, in the works, for example, of Dr. Ramírez and Dr. González Pineda.

This vast general movement of critical examination and determined creative effort is progressing lustily and, in general, we are overcoming that negative stage, characterized by a repertory of dessicated symbols, and turning our attention to inquiry into concrete reality, into the Mexican as a man with human, universal vigor. Young people opposed and cruelly denied yesterday, like the brothers Pedro and Rafael Coronel, or José Luis Cuevas, very successfully represent the fruits of this

liberation of search and creation. For the rest, as fast as the numerous followers of Rivera and Siqueiros disappear, the fertile influence of Orozco grows stronger, present even in the most recent Spanish painting, shown at the Guggenheim Museum in New York last year. Many young people who, like the Japanese poet, believe they need not follow his path but must seek what he sought, think that they find in Orozco a trustworthy pathway for discovering their personal bent and finding a place for it within Mexico's great pictorial tradition.

One more proof of our recent conquest of creative freedom in painting is the International Painting Prize awarded to Rufino Tamayo at the Second Pan American Biennial held by the Institute of Fine Arts, thus doing justice to the number-one victim of the Mexican pictorial monopoly. In his own country Tamayo suffered prolonged persecution by the "nationalist" group, with absurd accusations that he was "bourgeois," "decadent," and—worst of all—"abstractionist." And so today the now weakened criticism, which devoted itself for so many years to discrediting him, is trying to find ways, through the most affected and unintentionally amusing arguments, to "re-examine" him and to concede him some kind of "amnesty," something that the high priests of the "Mexican School" would never have deigned to do when they could decree ostracism and artistic death to an independent painter, particularly when, as in Tamayo's case, his talent was so offensively great.

In Other Countries

The Rio de Janeiro mail brings us the newest book—*En un Pequeño Cielo* (In a Little Heaven)—of the distinguished Venezuelan poet Lucila Velásquez, now in Brazil on a diplomatic mission for her government. During her stay in Mexico, Lucila published another volume, entitled *Poesía Resiste* (Poetry Resists) and devoted to singing—in strictly poetical terms—her people's battle for liberty under the dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez. In this new book she speaks to us once again of love that transcends the *I* and the biographical datum to cover humanity, and which seems to form a part of this noble poetry. *En un Pequeño Cielo* is a single poem on a son before and after his arrival. Born of the depths

of urgency and legitimized by the experience of the poet and the human being, her words will be recognized by all mothers as a lucid discovery of their own love.

In El Salvador another notable American woman, Claudia Lars, has published her latest book of poetry: *Fábula de la Verdad* (Fable of Truth), brought out by the Ministry of Culture of this sister country. This new work by Claudia—who, like Sara de Ibañez of Uruguay, adheres to a trend with Apollonian tendencies—is another example of the purification, of the expressive rigor and the imponderables that characterize the poetry of one who, through her output so rich in exceptional qualities, has come to represent the highest modern lyric value of her people.

And in Buenos Aires, Arturo Torres-Rioseco has put out, through Emecé publishers, his *Historia de La Gran Literatura Iberoamericana* (History of Great Ibero-American Literature) which, let us say, up to post-modernism, is a useful source of information and reference but which, in matters concerning contemporary letters in the Hemisphere, suffers from grave omissions—that of Eunice Odio and her *Tránsito de Fuego* (Passage of Fire), for example, when he speaks of literary production in Costa Rica. He offers some curious appraisals, *verbi gratia*, in referring to a poet so little analyzed as José Gorostiza, author of that monument of the Spanish language *Muerte Sin Fin* (Death Without End), calling him a "shining author of songbooks," when, as *Muerte Sin Fin* itself shows, he is speaking of the most important of our metaphysical poets. And there are some very amusing errors, like attributing to me *El Cántaro Roto* (The Broken Vessel) by Octavio Paz, for which I should be eternally grateful were I not such a friend of truth, and were I not sure that Octavio also—oh shades of Rilke!—because he is a poet, hates misstatements.

In any event, leaving aside the weaknesses of the work, which seem to be characteristic of its kind of thing, this history by Torres-Rioseco is a great and plausible attempt at the task, generally so disregarded, of establishing communication on an intellectual plane among the series of isolated islands that make up Latin America and trying to integrate them more vitally in a single cultural unity. ☞

Ancient pre-Aztec Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacán was dramatic set for new play *Moctezuma* by Mexican playwright Sergio Magaña



BOOKS

STRANGERS - THEN NEIGHBORS

PUERTO RICANS ON THE MAINLAND

CLARENCE SENIOR

IMMIGRANTS from other countries have played a tremendously important role in the growth of the population of the United States. Almost forty-two million persons have come, mostly from Europe, to seek a better life. They started as strangers to one another; they became neighbors.

The movement was slow in getting under way. There were only 210 settlers from Europe in 1610, when several Latin American countries were already large enough to support thriving universities. They were thinly scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, merely on the edge of the three million square miles now occupied by around 180,000,000 inhabitants of the forty-eight continental states.

But there was land, used, if at all, by only small, scattered bands of seminomadic Indians who numbered perhaps nine hundred thousand in the entire territory,

and who had not developed the advanced social organization of the Aztecs, Incas, and Mayas. There were timber, adequate and well-timed rainfall, an equable climate, and a long growing season for crops. There were industrial metals and minerals the working of which required settled communities and participation by the settlers themselves. There was no gold or silver found for over two centuries, so that the "hit and run" tactics of the conquistadors who found gold on their initial explorations were not adopted.

Perhaps as important, or even more important, there was religious liberty and political freedom (except in those areas in the South where slavery was established, which still suffer from that aberration). So immigrants flocked to the new country, attracted either by economic opportunities or by religious or political freedom.

Fairly exact records are available since 1820. Even the bare statistics by decades since that time are exciting. Perhaps they become even more meaningful if we know that six years in this century saw one million or more arrivals: 1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914.

Table I
Immigrants to the United States, 1820-1959

Period	Immigrant Aliens (thousands)	Period	Immigrant Aliens (thousands)
1820-30	152	1891-1900	3,688
1831-40	599	1901-10	8,795
1841-50	1,713	1911-20	5,736
1851-60	2,598	1921-30	4,107
1861-70	2,315	1931-40	528
1871-80	2,812	1941-50	1,035
1881-90	5,247	1951-59	2,250

From Walter F. Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. II, New York, 1931; U.S. Department of Justice, *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (1959), Table I.

Behind them one can see historical events reflected in the movement of people: the English and Scottish enclosure acts, the Irish famines, the agrarian changes in northwestern Europe, the revolution of 1848, the coming of railroad lines and newspapers to remote areas of Poland, the distress of farm workers in southern Italy, all provide a background. The opening of more and more free land for "homesteading," the discovery of gold in California and silver in the Rocky Mountains, the need for workers in the mines and the growing industries, all acted as magnets attracting the dispossessed



CLARENCE SENIOR, sociologist and economist, was chief of the Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor from 1951 to 1960. He has long concentrated on the study of underdeveloped areas, and has specialized in population questions since 1945, when he was named director of the University of Puerto Rico's Social Science Research Center. He is the author of *Land Reform and Democracy* and a co-author of *The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants*. Currently, he is a consultant to the Puerto Rican Secretary of Labor, and a lecturer at Columbia University. This article deals with the subject of his latest book:

STRANGERS—THEN NEIGHBORS: FROM PILGRIMS TO PUERTO RICANS. New York, Freedom Books, 1961. 86 p.

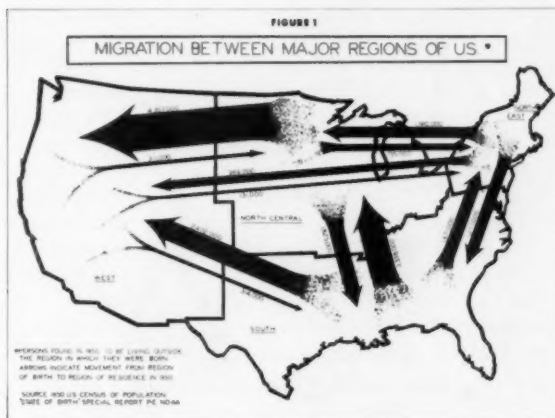
or the dissatisfied. The figures also reflect, especially in the 1931-40 decade, the effect of the world-wide depression, and since then, the effects of restrictive immigration legislation.

Economic development did not take place evenly throughout the three million square miles, either geographically or in time. After people settled in one area, many would move to another part of the country that was economically more advanced. The United States census in 1850 found that somewhat over one in every five persons was living in a state different from that in which he had been born (21.3 per cent). It surprises many people to learn that the 1950 census found a slightly higher proportion of the population mobile by the same measure (23.5 per cent)! Figure I shows the numbers involved and the direction of the main streams as shown by the 1950 census.

One of the smaller streams is that from the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico, once a colony of the United States and now an associated free state. Puerto Ricans have been coming to the mainland for many years. Almost a century before they became citizens of the United States in 1917 there was a Puerto Rican community in New York City. The net migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States has been recorded since 1908 and is shown in Figure II.

Puerto Ricans spread across the country just as other newcomers had in the past; the 1910 census found them in thirty-nine states and the territory of Hawaii. They were living in all forty-eight states by 1930.

By the end of 1960 there were about 650,000 persons of Puerto Rican birth living in the mainland United States, plus about 296,000 individuals one or both of whose parents was born in Puerto Rico. The largest



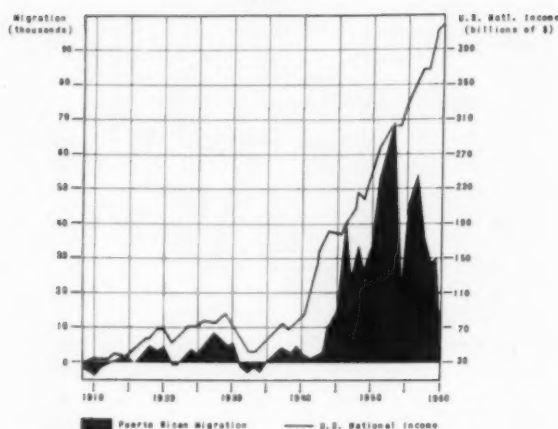
single "Puerto Rican city" in the United States was New York, with a total of 720,000 Puerto Ricans, first- and second-generation. This was about three quarters of those in the forty-eight states. The remaining quarter were found widely scattered, with sizable communities in the Chicago metropolitan area; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Newark, Camden, Paterson, Perth Amboy, Trenton, and Jersey City, New Jersey; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Miami, Florida; Bridgeport and Hartford, Connecticut; San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles, California; Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts; Buffalo and Rochester, New York; Cleveland, Lorain, and Youngstown, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; and in dozens of other towns and cities of the mainland, as well as in Hawaii.

The ebb and flow of the Puerto Rican migration is, as can be seen from Figure II, overwhelmingly dependent

Puerto Ricans in New York study English in evening class



FIGURE 2



Note how volume of migration from Puerto Rico to mainland reflects changes in U.S. national income

on business conditions in the United States. The annual average net migration for the following specific periods also illustrates this point:

1909-1930	1,986
1931-1940	904
1941-1950	18,794
1951-1960	41,212

Reduction in the number of available jobs resulted in a 22 per cent drop from 1948 to 1949 in migration from the island; economic conditions in late 1953 and 1954 caused an over-the-year drop in migration to the mainland of 68.8 per cent. Increased demand for labor began to reflect itself in an upturn in Puerto Rican migration during the third quarter of 1955, and the total for the year was 45,464. Migration during 1956 reflected continued improvement in job opportunities and reached 52,315 for the year. The downturn which began the next year caused a drop in the flow for 1957 of 28 per cent, to a total of 37,704. A further drop of 27 per cent was registered in 1958, with the figure for that year 27,690. Migration rose only slightly in 1959, with the improvement of job conditions, to 29,989, but unemployment was high in 1960 and the migration fell to the lowest point in fifteen years, 16,298. In other words, when more workers are needed by the economic machinery on the mainland, more Puerto Ricans come; when fewer are needed, fewer come. This was exactly what happened in the case of the voluntary immigrations that built the population of the United States.

The same ebb and flow with the business cycle is found in all of the internal streams of migration in the United States. It is particularly noticeable in the case of migration from such underdeveloped areas of the country as the South, and from the farming sections generally.

Movement back and forth from the farms to the cities is governed by the demand for labor in the cities. The depression decade of the 1930's, for example, showed only a trickle of migration from rural to urban areas. During the prosperity decade 1940-50, on the other hand, some 8,600,000 persons, net, moved off the farms of the

United States and settled in the cities. This was almost a third of the entire farm population.

However, people who have lived for years in big cities are likely to lose sight of their own historical past and even to be unaware of the vastness of the internal migration. Every working-class group that migrates is likely to have problems in securing adequate housing, for example. If it is an ethnic group different from that which is in the majority in the receiving area, difficulties that might arise because persons are new to the area are likely to be attributed to differences in ethnic group membership. An understanding of cultural backgrounds is one of the ways of helping speed up the process of adjustment that is always necessary when two groups meet under such circumstances.

Because the United States has often been called "a nation of many nations" it is particularly important that our various ethnic and nationality groups understand each other. We have, in recent years, worked out a goal for the entire nation that is referred to as "cultural democracy" or "cultural pluralism." Those of Spanish, or Italian, or Swedish, or Polish, or other backgrounds are not forced to try to divest themselves of their former cultures. Their songs, poems, plays, customs and costumes, ideas and ideals are no longer thrown into what was once called "the melting pot."

There are hundreds of organizations dedicated to the ideals of "cultural democracy": to the promotion of better understanding between different racial and cultural groups. Churches, labor unions, civic organizations, service clubs, women's groups, educational systems, all carry on programs with the aim of improving and perfecting our democracy in the field of the relations of one human being with another—on the basis of mutual respect for human dignity. Millions of pieces of literature—leaflets, pamphlets, and books—are dedicated to those aims. My little book is a modest addition to this material.

The Anti-Defamation League asked me to write for the people of the United States an account of the Puerto Rican at home, the advances that have been made by "Operation Bootstrap" (see "Puerto Rico Goes Ahead," by George Meek, *AMÉRICAS*, October 1960), the contribution which migration is making toward helping the dramatic advances that have been made in Puerto Rico itself, and the contributions that the bearers of the rich Spanish cultural heritage can and do make in their new homes. The Anti-Defamation League was created forty-eight years ago by a Jewish fraternal organization called, in the Biblical Hebrew language, B'nai B'rith; in English, "Sons of the Covenant." It is a 110-year-old international institution, with lodges all over the Western Hemisphere, as well as in most other parts of the world. It seeks peaceful relations and understanding between all groups and has published a large library of books and pamphlets on intergroup relations.

One of my first problems was to deal with the widespread misunderstanding that there was something new about the experience of the Puerto Ricans. In the book, many illustrations out of the past were given to point up the parallels between the Puerto Rican migration of

the present and the experiences of the ancestors of most of our present-day inhabitants.

Then there is the problem of the feeling that there is something *different* about the Puerto Rican who comes to the mainland to take his place in the economic machinery here. Both history and the data on the vast internal migration taking place today were used to help overcome this feeling. The cosmopolitan character of New York City today is indicated by the fact that its radio stations carry programs in twenty-one tongues daily and that its newspapers represent fifty-four languages! Yet it is probably safe to say that the majority of the citizens of New York City are not aware of how many languages are used daily, or that there are more in use today in their city than the eighteen that were being spoken on Manhattan Island in 1644 when it was still part of the Dutch Empire.

This language diversity is one indication of the improvement in attitudes of which our citizens can be proud.

Our Judaeo-Christian tradition counsels us to love the stranger "as thyself." Generally this does not happen. It is more likely to happen if the stranger belongs to our own racial, ethnic, or nationality group, to our church, to our lodge, to our union, or at least to our own socio-economic class. This is because he is somewhat more likely to have been raised as we were raised, to "talk the same language," to have the same tastes; to have developed the same habits, the same reactions to daily events. In the vast majority of our daily actions we are creatures of habit; life would become a mass of intolerable choices in small matters if we were not. Trouble begins, in a society undergoing rapid social

change, when habits rule decisions on matters vitally affecting democracy and public issues. That is, trouble begins if we have not deliberately cultivated habits that are consonant with the democratic way of life in human relations.

Left to their own devices, our habits will often be guided by an insidious and universal fallacy known to scholars for years as ethnocentrism. This is an old synonym for "group centeredness." It has now been described and analyzed by social scientists and is understood to be part of the "natural" behavior of mankind. It is by applying intelligence and self- and social control to "natural" actions that man becomes human, however. We now know that we must become aware of the process by which we acquire our habits, our feelings, our ideals, our ideas, and especially our assessment of "strangers." We must become aware of the fact that if a stranger comes from another ethnic, racial, national, religious, or class group he may well have habits, feelings, ideas, and ideals that do not coincide exactly with our own. Unless we can find or work out common ones, a neighborly life will be difficult.

Often in our history this has proved to be a painful process. It is one of the encouraging signs of a maturing democracy that in the United States we are working out ways of achieving just such a solution to our human relations problems.

Another misunderstanding arises from an oversimplified view of the relationship between population growth and economic development. People in the United States are proud of the fact that Puerto Rico has done so brilliantly in its efforts to industrialize and otherwise improve its economy and raise levels of living for its people. They know that life expectancy has been lengthened from forty-six years in 1940 to seventy years in 1960 and that this one change reflects tremendous progress in cutting down deaths from diarrhea and enteritis, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other diseases that menace the lives of peasant and working-class families throughout most of the world. They read that smallpox and malaria have been abolished as causes of death in Puerto Rico. They hear that over a thousand engineers, doctors, public administrators, educators, labor leaders, and others come from the "underdeveloped" areas of the world each year to see how Puerto Rico has made such dramatic advances.

They ask, "What was this miracle that happened in Puerto Rico? And why, when there has been all this progress, should workers still wish to migrate to the United States?" Of course, those who brought it about deny that it is a miracle at all. They point out that it took hard work, imagination, receptivity to new ideas, and a willingness to sacrifice immediate gains for future growth. It also took a governmental apparatus that is both efficient and honest. Crucial as they are, governmental activities tell only part of the story. Puerto Rican citizens were themselves involved in working out their future.

Briefly, let us consider the historical background of the island's progress.



Pedro Canino, who recently retired after 34 years with U.S. Post Office Department in New York, is neighborhood civic leader

Colonialism was perhaps the first major obstacle to economic and political development. Spain ruled the island for four centuries, and although it left a rich cultural heritage, it did not leave much for the average citizen. It failed to establish a public school system (leaving 90 per cent of the population illiterate), and left behind it birth and death rates characteristic of an uneducated, poverty-stricken people, and political machinery designed to serve outside interests. Resistance to Spanish rule became widespread, even at the community level. In 1898 there was a change of sovereignty.

Overwhelmingly, Puerto Ricans welcomed United States troops when we "freed" them, as well as the citizens of Cuba and the Philippines, from Spanish rule. We were not accustomed to running an empire, however, and we made many mistakes. It was not until the latter part of the 1930's that Puerto Rican citizens began sharing the responsibility of working out an extensive program of social, economic, and political reconstruction.

In 1917 citizenship was granted those Puerto Ricans who wanted it (only 288 out of 1,223,981 refused it), and the machinery of internal democracy was somewhat improved. But no further real progress was made until 1948, when Puerto Ricans elected their own governor for the first time. The governor chosen then—and re-elected three times since—was Luis Muñoz Marín, the leading proponent of a new kind of political status for Puerto Rico—the "commonwealth." In the 1948 election, the voters were offered three alternatives for the kind of government to replace the worn-out colonial system. The tally for the three was: independence, 65,351 votes; statehood, 182,977; and commonwealth, 392,386, or 61.2 per cent of the total ballot. After being approved by the U.S. Congress and three times ratified by the Puerto Rican voters, this concept was incorporated into the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which was accepted by Congress and went into effect on July 25, 1952.

The United Nations Assembly voted, in November 1953, by 26 to 16, to recognize that the Puerto Ricans had been "invested with the attributes of political sovereignty which clearly identify the state of self-government attained by the Puerto Rican people as an autonomous political entity." The United States henceforth was not required to report to the UN each year on developments in this former "dependent area." The commonwealth arrangement has been applauded as one of the great political inventions of our times. This is one reason the island is so frequently visited by people from colonial, semi-colonial, or recently liberated areas of the world. The transition from dependence to democracy was accomplished without damage to economic or social patterns.

Poverty, with all its attendant ills, was another part of the Puerto Rican heritage, as it is for three fourths of the peoples of the world. Lack of resources, plus lack of imagination in using resources, was a heavy handicap. Agricultural land is scarce on the mountainous island, where sub-tropical rains have eroded soil on hilly lands unmercifully. The Puerto Ricans can use only about

one half of an acre of land per person for farming, compared with about four acres per person in the mainland United States. Forest resources are practically nonexistent, and no subsoil resources of any consequence have yet been found. Puerto Rico, in common with many of the developing areas of the world, suffers from a heavy population density and from a high birth rate. In 1959 each of the island's 3,435 square miles of area supported an average of 681 persons, compared with fifty persons per square mile in the States. In other words, the economy of Puerto Rico has to support almost fourteen times the population per square mile that the rich and highly developed economy of the United States supports in its territory.

"Operation Bootstrap" was launched as an effort to develop the people themselves as a major factor in raising levels of living. Agricultural improvement and diversification, industrialization, greater education, and the knitting together of all these goals by coordinated planning have been the major programs.

Agriculture has been dominated by sugar production, with coffee and tobacco as secondary crops. The land now produces, in addition, pineapples, legumes, coconuts, avocados, sweet potatoes, and bananas, which were not of great importance before. Cattle raising and dairying have become important sources of income. Many more persons are landowners now than were two decades ago. The "500 Acre Law," on the books since 1900, has been enforced and the land held in violation of it has been expropriated and made available to landless farm workers in several ways.

The industrialization program has resulted in the erection of almost seven hundred new factories and an increase of some 800 per cent in income from manu-



facturing. The new plants are efficient and modern in every detail. It is in exactly this condition that one of the most critical issues of the industrialization of the "underdeveloped" areas lies. It is imperative that the issue be understood throughout the world. New, modern, efficient machinery means more production with fewer workers! Puerto Rico built the first five plants under its industrialization program at a cost of roughly \$11,000,000. The five plants gave direct employment to 992 workers. Thus one industrial job required an average investment of \$11,087. One new job is created in secondary industry or services for each manufacturing job, but of course with additional investment needed. Obviously, more workers would be given employment if older, less efficient machinery were to be used. Obviously, also, this would result in higher costs of production, and then the industry could not survive in competition with those industries that used newer and more efficient machinery. This is one of the most serious problems facing those developing areas which are overpopulated. As A. J. Jaffe has pointed out, "there can be substantial increases in national income without any change in the over-all level of employment."

Puerto Rico's experience has been that, while the national income has risen spectacularly, the percentage of the labor force unemployed is still much too high. Improvements in agricultural techniques are also partly responsible for this. The number of workers employed in farming in 1940 was 230,000; eighteen years later it had dropped to 137,000, although income originating in agriculture grew appreciably in the same period.

While manufacturing jobs were increasing at a much slower rate than income, and while agricultural employment was losing ground, the rate at which the population grew was itself increasing. The death rate, reflecting substantial improvements in both levels of living and health and sanitation services, fell from 18.4 per 1000 in 1940 to 7.0 in 1958, a drop of 62 per cent. The birth rate, however, fell only 15 per cent, from 38.5 in 1940 to 32.7 in 1958. If there had not been a net emigration of some 600,000 persons during this period, the Puerto Rican population would today be at least 750,000 more than it actually is, or 3,087,000 instead of 2,337,000. This, in turn, would be reflected in a lower per capita income and a higher rate of unemployment.

As it is, population pressure is great enough to hamper development plans and interfere with economic and social advance. It is probable that per capita income, now at about \$600, would total at least \$800 if it were not for the effects of overpopulation.

It is, unfortunately, easy to assume from these data that it is the unemployed Puerto Rican who migrates. Most of those who migrate, however, leave jobs to go to new jobs on the mainland. They go seeking *better* jobs, not jobs as such. And because the economic machinery there is so highly developed, complex, and large-scale, their chances of getting a better job are much greater than if they had remained at home—so long as unemployment is not too high in the United States. But when unemployment is high and fewer workers are

needed, fewer come. As Figure II indicates, in the three depressions during the 1908-1959 period, more Puerto Ricans returned to their island homes than came from there.

How is this correlation of migration and opportunity achieved? Through what I call the family intelligence service. A foreman who likes the work of a Puerto Rican employee often says "Juan, you are a good mechanic. Are there any more at home like you?" Juan is likely to answer, "Sure, my brother José is just as good a mechanic as I am." So José comes to join Juan. Since family solidarity is strong in Puerto Rico, even one member working in a town or city in the United States may result in a thriving, growing Puerto Rican community within a few years. That is, there will be a growing community *if* additional workers are needed. If not, there will not be.

Thus the migration of Puerto Ricans to the urban areas of the mainland is not organized; it is spontaneous and depends on news of job opportunities. But the Government of Puerto Rico is interested in helping its people in their endeavor to work out a better economic future for themselves and their children. Its Department of Labor in 1948 opened an office in New York City for this purpose. Its activities have now grown to the point where it is a full Division of the Department, with thirteen offices in the United States and an Orientation Unit operating in Puerto Rico. It has printed over five million copies of leaflets and pamphlets, in Spanish and English, to help the migrant or a person considering migration. The thirty-eight titles include *Clima y Ropa*, warning against the bitter cold of northern winters; *Nueva York y Usted: Un Guía*, an eighty-page guide; *Derechos y Deberes del Inquilino y el Casero*, treating of the problems of living in multifamily buildings, which often is a new experience for the recent arrival; *Usted Necesita Estos Documentos*, listing papers that will be needed, such as birth certificates, vaccination certificates for children, social security cards, and so on, without which life in a big city can become even more complicated than it otherwise is; *Use Su Derecho a Votar*, reminding the Puerto Rican that in his new home he should register and vote just as he does in Puerto Rico. The Orientation Unit works with local mayors' committees on migration in a majority of the seventy-seven *municipios* of the island, those from which the most migrants come, as well as with other departments of the government.

While the government neither encourages nor discourages migration, it realizes that it will take place so long as economic development in the United States affords greater employment opportunities than are found in Puerto Rico. It therefore wants to help its people ease the process of adjustment to a new environment and prepare them to meet new problems. It also wants to be helpful to the institutions of the receiving community that can aid the newcomer in making his adjustment. Its offices offer both the migrant and the local people the services of employment experts, social workers, educators, and community organizers. Radio and television are used both in Puerto Rico and in the United States, as are

newspapers and magazines, speeches, and discussion groups. Each week the twenty-nine radio stations throughout the island carry a program called "Guide for the Traveler," based on the experiences of earlier migrants.

The entire force of the nine local offices of the Puerto Rico Employment Service aids in the orientation process, using labor market information received through U.S. Employment Service channels. The U.S. Employment Service on the mainland has 1,800 local offices, forty-eight state offices and twelve regional centers for the gathering and dissemination of employment information. It is all available to the prospective migrant, as are the services of the local offices in job placement, aptitude testing, and counseling of applicants and employers on various problems that may arise.

There is still another stream of migration from Puerto Rico: it flows toward the mainland in the spring and early summer and back toward Puerto Rico in the autumn. It consists of farm workers whose seasonal work in Puerto Rico is coming to an end just at the time when demand for farm labor is increasing in the Middle Atlantic and New England states. This is highly organized in comparison with spontaneous urbanward migration. The Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico requires the employer to sign an agreement that provides more protection than any other farm worker in the United States receives. It requires that the local prevailing wage be paid, but states a floor below which it cannot fall. The worker is guaranteed wages for 160 hours of work per month and acceptable housing, rent free. The employer must insure the worker against occupational accident or illness, a form

of protection that is rare for farm workers although universally required in industry. There is also a group insurance plan covering off-the-job accidents and illnesses. The Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor maintains a field staff to assure that the agreement will be respected and to iron out any difficulties that may arise. While some fifteen thousand workers have come to the States under the agreement each season for about eight years, there are now probably another fifteen thousand who come "on their own." They feel that their first few years under the agreement have taught them all they need to know about farm work on the continent and that they now can make their own arrangements.

It is from the farm labor stream that dozens of important Puerto Rican settlements have got started. If workers are needed in industrial centers near farming areas in which Puerto Ricans work, the industrial employer often offers jobs at the end of the farm season. The "family intelligence service" takes over from that time on, if more workers are needed.

One of the questions frequently asked by those not directly in contact with the wide range of industries and services in which Puerto Ricans are employed is "Where do the Puerto Ricans work?" Many times those who ask this question have just been served by a Puerto Rican waiter in one of New York City's best hotels. Often they have been waited upon in an exclusive lingerie shop or department store by a Puerto Rican sales clerk. Since the Puerto Ricans are not a separate race but have about the same racial mixture that characterizes Spain, it is often difficult to identify them by bodily characteristics.

The direct answer to the question is that Puerto Ricans work in almost all the trades and professions that are a part of the economic life of New York and many other cities. Some of the better-known Puerto Ricans include José Ferrer of stage, screen, radio, and television; Jesús María Sanromá, Boston Symphony piano soloist and recording artist; Graciela Rivera, opera singer, Olga San Juan, Rita Moreno, and Juano Hernández, of screen fame; Tito Puente and Noro Morales, popular orchestra leaders; and Ruth Fernández, the great interpreter of Caribbean songs. Baseball fans recognize such major league names as Victor Power, Orlando Cepeda, Rubén Gómez, Jim Rivera, Luis Arroyo, Valmy Thomas, Félix Mantilla, Arnold Portocarrero, Juan Pizarro, and Roberto Clemente. The world's junior welterweight boxing championship was captured in 1959 by Carlos Ortiz. However, most Puerto Ricans, like most of their neighbors, work at the more mundane occupations. The biggest single group of employers in New York City is the needle trades: women's and men's clothing, undergarments, sweaters, millinery, hats and caps, and hosiery. Other industries and services that find the new workers highly satisfactory include: steel foundries and metal fabricators, plastics factories, hotels and restaurants, food-processing plants, electronic equipment manufacturers, optical and surgical instrument plants, jewelry makers, the merchant marine, laundries, hospitals, building maintenance, and welding.



José Zambrano came to New York, got a job in metal furniture factory, is now a foreman

New York's forty thousand factories include over three hundred industries, and Puerto Ricans are found in almost all of them. Each month 1,500 new corporations are created in New York City. Three hundred of these are engaged in manufacturing. As the City Commerce Department reported in 1959, "What generates these new businesses and keeps the old ones stable or expanding is the city's labor supply. Its greatest resource is manpower."

The Reverend David W. Barry, Executive Director of the New York City Mission Society, says: "No previous immigrant group so quickly numbered among its members so many policemen and welfare workers, teachers and social workers, office workers, and independent businessmen, and even doctors and lawyers—after barely a dozen years in New York. And the signs of the future are in the substantial enrollment of young Puerto Ricans in the city's colleges and universities."

Dr. Barry's organization has for over one hundred years been helping newcomers in their adjustment to life in the nation's metropolis.

His view is supported by the existence of substantial organizations in the business and professional fields, such as the Spanish Merchants' Association, with its two thousand Puerto Rican members; the thirty-five-year-old Puerto Rican Civil Service Employees Association, which has its own building and successful credit union; the Spanish Club of the New York City Police Department, with 250 members, mostly Puerto Rican; the Association of Puerto Rican Social Workers, with more than one hundred members; and organizations of lawyers, school teachers, nurses, ministers, electricians, barbers, bar owners, taxi owners and drivers, and baseball umpires.

The Puerto Ricans are also active in union affairs. A recent survey showed that 63 per cent of New York's Spanish-speaking households contain one or more union members. Many are now union officers. They are also active politically. All three political parties in New York City (Democratic, Republican, and Liberal) place great emphasis on work among the Puerto Ricans. Puerto Rican ranks now include two state legislators, a city magistrate, and a number of appointive officials in the executive branch of the city and state governments. The first Puerto Rican elected to the New York State Assembly, in 1937, was a Republican. The next, a Democrat, was elected in 1953 and re-elected in 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1960. He was joined in 1958 by another Democrat.

Democracy depends on far more than simply voting on election day, however. The Puerto Ricans have learned this at home where civic participation is constantly stressed as an indispensable factor in "Operation Bootstrap." The Puerto Rican who moves to the mainland shows that he has learned this lesson well. Two years ago some 150 Puerto Rican civic, educational, religious, business, labor, recreational, and social groups in New York City organized the Puerto Rican Self-Help Program, Inc. Its activities are centered primarily on the young people of the community. They include neighborhood meetings of parents, orientation centers, teachers giving

Spanish classes to local government workers, an employment service, youths assisting the Fire Department in its fire-prevention campaign, and many others—all on a volunteer basis. Other Puerto Rican organizations run twenty-one "housing clinics" every week to help solve problems arising from the housing shortage. They have published a *Self-Help Manual on Housing Problems* for the use of their own clinics and others that are being formed to serve non-Puerto Ricans.

The Puerto Rican brings his ideas, ideals, attitudes, and habits, as did the forty-two million representing other cultures who came before him, to take part in the building of our nation. In closing the book, I wrote of their contributions:

"Perhaps the greatest need of the world today is a willingness on the part of individuals and groups to accept other people on their own terms and not to hold and express the Philistine attitude, 'Thank God I am not as he,' when a member of a different nationality, race, ethnic group, or class passes by. There is among the Puerto Ricans none of the bitter hatred toward other religious groups which so marred the record of our democracy in the days of the Ku Klux Klan and sporadically ever since.

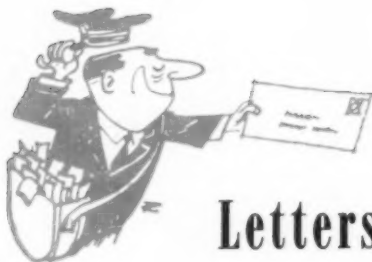
"It is in the field of race relations especially that the Puerto Rican may make a contribution—if we allow him. Puerto Ricans of dark, light, and white skins have lived together for several centuries without serious discrimination or recrimination, and this healthy attitude can be a model for us. One of the orientation leaflets issued by the Commonwealth is entitled, in Spanish, the equivalent of 'When in Rome, Do As the Romans Do.' It reminds the migrant that habits and customs differ and that one should watch his neighbor or shopmate for clues to proper actions. It ends by telling the reader, however, that there is one outstanding Puerto Rican virtue: 'We don't discriminate against anybody because of his race or the color of his skin. . . . We must continue practicing this wherever we live.'

"Next, commentators who know the Puerto Rican well stress the contribution he makes with his strong family life, the kind of solidarity which is so missing from the city scene today.

"Others are impressed by his warmth, vitality, friendliness, and hospitality, the great value placed on the non-material side of life, on artistic expression, on love of music and dancing, on such indications of cultural values as the fact that the Governor of Puerto Rico is widely known as 'El Vate,' 'the Bard.' He once wrote poetry and is still proud of it and yearns for the time he might do it again. The Secretary of Labor is a playwright—and does not conceal it, as he might likely do if he were a prominent public official in the United States!

"Most highly prized of all, and basic to many of the contributions mentioned, is a deep sense of the dignity and worth of the individual.

"All of these—plus the basic addition to the manpower we need here and the far-reaching assistance Puerto Rico is giving us in our international relations—are among the contributions of the Puerto Ricans." ☞



Letters

JUNGLE DOCTOR'S PATIENT

I have read with the greatest pleasure the article "Jungle Doctor in Peru" in the September 1960 issue of *AMÉRICAS*. Realizing that Mrs. Meilach's account has several exaggerations and errors, I would like not to criticize but just to clarify them.

Lake Yarina Cocha does not drain into the Amazon River but into the Ucayali, one of its main tributaries.

It was not necessary to truck bricks from Lima, because there are several brick factories in Pucallpa.

Pucallpa is not a thousand miles from Lima, but only 523, of which a distance of some ninety miles is passable in dry weather only.

Perhaps the clearing of the land was done by a crew of forty Indians, but not the construction of the buildings, which was done by the best masons in Pucallpa. As an electrical technician, I was in charge of all the electrical work.

Beyond that, I am very much in favor of the work of Dr. Binder, who is my doctor and friend.

I hope Mrs. Meilach will forgive me for making these corrections, but they are necessary.

Roberto Bergerman Avendaño
Pucallpa, Peru

PORTRAIT OF BOLIVIA

In the June number of *AMÉRICAS* it impressed me that you probably have published one of the best articles that have appeared in recent years in this singular and worthy publication. I have reference to the article on Bolivia which is entitled "Mountains of Mystery" and is written by Fernando Diez de Medina. So strongly have I been moved by this deeply interpretive presentation that I have written a letter of acknowledgment and appreciation to the author...

I note that you have cut out your "Letters" section. I miss it. Do you intend to bring it back? I view it as of considerable importance in a publication of the nature of *AMÉRICAS*. I also greatly miss your old section where you afforded the privilege of listing the names and addresses of individuals of the Americas who were desirous of striking up contact through correspondence with others of North and South America. Apart from my regret that these two above-named features have been at least temporarily discontinued I have only praise for your fine and tremendously informative pub-

lication. As one greatly concerned about the possible loss of your correspondent-seeking section I can tell you that by means of that section I have achieved great success in making and developing contacts with Latin Americans. A few of these contacts have developed into what give every promise of being life-long friendships.

Philip Prichard
Vancouver, Canada

We are happy to reassure Reader Prichard. These sections are not gone from our pages—they were only temporarily suspended for lack of space.

MINIFUNDIA ARE UNSATISFACTORY

As I read "New Look at the Land Problem," a review of the land tenure problem in Latin America by Harry Kantor as presented in "From the Newsstands" (May 1961), an important observation came to mind.

Increased agricultural production, as a vital part of economic development, must serve at least two basic goals in Latin America:

(1) More agricultural products for domestic consumption, especially for the multitudes on minifundia (small holdings), and

(2) Increased agricultural products for export to help provide the additional foreign exchange essential to the nation's development.

But what does this have to do with land ownership? There is ample evidence that the fastest, most certain way to accomplish the second goal (increased exports) is by applying modern production techniques on large holdings. On these farms one trained man controls a big area (this lessens the educational problem). Here also the other requirements for production (capital, especially), and facilities for marketing are more readily available. The hard truth seems to be that the second goal is most quickly accomplished by working with fairly large-sized farm units. A number of countries now regret that they redistributed their lands into parcels that are too small.

C. V. Plath
Agricultural Land Economist
Mexico, D.F., Mexico

FRIEND IN INDIA

I would like to correspond in English with foreign penpals. I am twenty-three years old. I have completed my secondary education and am now working as manager of a store. My hobbies are geography and stamp

collecting, and I would like to exchange stamps, as well as letters.

M. Abdul Basith
Model Stores
Erodes, R.C.
S. India

WILD PLANTS

I am an agronomy student and I would like to exchange indigenous wild plants with agronomy students in other American countries wherever possible. I correspond in English and Spanish.

Jorge Oscar Baño
Albarelos 2864 (19)
Buenos Aires, Argentina

EDITOR'S CORRECTIONS

The following information was inadvertently omitted from the author's note to the article "Go East, Young Man," in the June issue of *AMÉRICAS*: "Dr. Crist has carried out field investigations in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru under the auspices of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The assistance of Mr. E. E. Hegen is gratefully acknowledged."

The pictures on pages 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of the same issue were supplied through the courtesy of Mr. Hegen.

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The OAS had its inception in 1890 during the First International Conference of American States, which met in Washington. Today, it operates through a large number of different agencies and institutions throughout the Hemisphere, all contributing to the common objective of preserving the peace and security of the member states and promoting, by cooperative action, their economic, social, and cultural development.

The Pan American Union, central permanent organ and General Secretariat of the OAS, has its headquarters in Washington, D.C. Called "The House of the Americas," its main building of white marble, with its tropical patio and Aztec Garden, is visited each year by thousands of Americans from all parts of the Western Hemisphere. Pan American Day is celebrated annually throughout the Americas on April 14th.



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